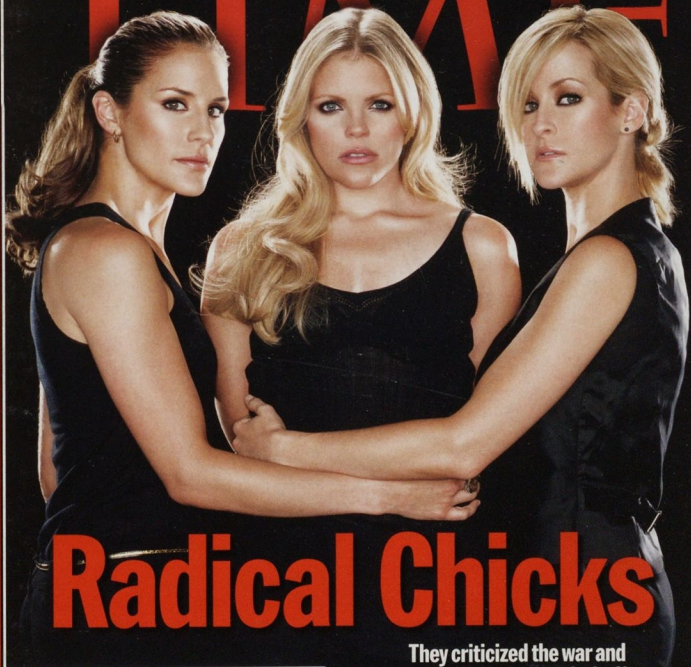


HERE COMES THE HURRICANE SEASON ■ JERRY BROWN ■ TOURIST SURGERY

TIME



Radical Chicks

They criticized the war and were labeled unpatriotic. Now **THE DIXIE CHICKS** are back, betting their careers on a whole new style. Is America ready?

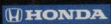
BY JOSH TYRANGIEL




The "van gods" are pleased. Heated leather seats, Honda DVD Entertainment System and



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TIME

May 29, 2006

Vol. 167, No. 22

10 QUESTIONS: Franklin Graham on AIDS, aging and sin..... **8**

LETTERS..... **10**

NOTEBOOK

GITMO: The U.N. says shut it down; heavenly baby names... **16**

MILESTONES: Hirsi Ali resigns; a poet laureate dies at 100..... **23**

IN THE ARENA: Joe Klein on the G.O.P.'s bad border politics..... **25**

NATION

IS NEW ORLEANS READY? As hurricane season hovers close by, the battered city gets repaired levees, live disaster drills and some hard lessons in self-sufficiency..... **26**

JERRY BROWN: The former Governor Moonbeam and current mayor of Oakland now wants to be his state's attorney general. **32**

WORLD

THE INSURGENT STRONGHOLD: For a rare look inside Ramadi, TIME travels with Kilo Company to get a close-up view of U.S. Marines' daily battles with insurgents..... **36**

VIEWPOINT: A huge European soccer showdown tests the loyalties of an American fan..... **43**

BUSINESS

MEDICAL TOURISM: Low costs and high-quality care are luring Americans overseas for elective procedures—and employers are starting to take notice..... **44**

ENVIRONMENT

ALLIGATOR ALLEY: What's causing Florida's gators to kill?... **48**

LIVING

SHUT OUT OF THE PROM: New rules for the big party..... **57**

MEDICINE

CARING 101: Why med students are learning to be patients... **58**

ARTS

BEASTY: Kelsey Grammer goes blue in the new *X-Men*. **67**

BOOKS: Mark Bowden's chilling *Guests of the Ayatollah*..... **68**

MOVIES: *The Da Vinci Code* is spiritless..... **70**

WORTH YOUR TIME: Five memoirs by extraordinary authors. **71**

YOUR TIME

HEALTH: Avoiding economy-class syndrome on airplanes..... **73**

LIFESTYLE: Designer luggage rolls down the runway..... **74**

PEOPLE: Divorce for Sir Paul; engagement for Nicole..... **77**

ESSAY: Supersizing the American dream..... **78**

COVER: Photograph for TIME by Jill Greenberg

COVER



After notoriously declaring that they were "ashamed" of President Bush, the Dixie Chicks lost legions of fans and airplay on country radio. Now they're back with a smart new CD featuring an in-your-face single, *Not Ready to Make Nice*. Outspoken as ever, have they written their own ticket to pop culture's scrap heap?

48

Three fatal gator attacks in less than a week have put Floridians on edge



36

Marines detain an Iraqi in Ramadi



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Actors in Character

Photographer Howard Schatz chose an array of actors and asked them to react to hypothetical scenarios. The results, in his new book, *In Character*, are a stimulating illustration of the actor's craft. See some of his faces at time.com/actors



INSIDE A BAGHDAD EMERGENCY ROOM
Some have warned that HBO's new documentary *Baghdad ER* is too graphic. Michael Weisskopf, who was injured while covering the war for TIME and is writing a book on his experiences, gives his reaction to the controversial film.



DIXIE CHICKS

After you read Josh Tyrangiel's cover story on the hot, sometimes controversial country group, you can listen to five excerpts from the Dixie Chicks' new album, *Taking the Long Way*—arriving in record stores on Tuesday—at time.com/chicks



THE FINALISTS: One of these 25 will get a \$25,000 grand prize

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More than 4,000 people submitted their inventions—from an innovative bicycle to a medical device for children with diabetes—in a competition run by TIME along with the History Channel and the National Inventors Hall of Fame. Visit time.com on Thursday to find out the winner.

PICTURE OF THE WEEK

Every Friday we select the most memorable images from the week's news and invite you to vote on the best. Last week's winner: a college graduate in Utah with a cutout of her husband, serving in Afghanistan. Go to time.com/potw to vote for your choice of this week's photos.



FLASHBACK

Eyes on the Spy Agency



General Michael Hayden has faced some tough questions since being nominated as CIA director. Almost three decades ago, another military man, Admiral Stansfield Turner, headed the agency during a period of turmoil.

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PO BRONSON

The author of *What Should I Do with My Life?* and *Why Do I Love These People?* writes a regular column for time.com on social issues from immigration to the mommy wars. Check out his advice this week for college grads.



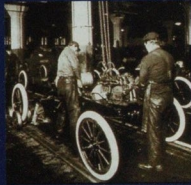
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10 QUESTIONS FOR Franklin Graham

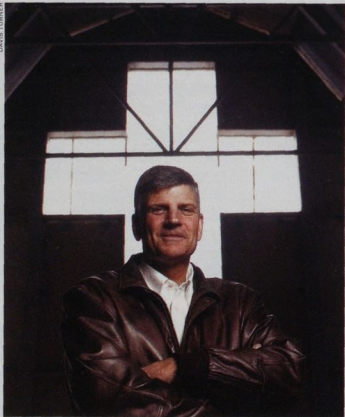
When doctors first documented cases of AIDS 25 years ago among gay men and drug users, many Evangelicals assumed the epidemic was not their problem. Evangelist Franklin Graham—son of Billy, father of four, grandfather of four—helped to change that attitude and to persuade the Bush Administration in 2003 to earmark \$15 billion for the struggle against AIDS. Graham, 53, spoke with *TIME*'s Christine Gorman about AIDS, Darfur and motorcycles.

What would Jesus say about AIDS today? In his day, there was leprosy, which was incurable. And Jesus healed lepers. He didn't turn them away. That would be the same reaction today. But Jesus did tell people he healed, "Go and sin no more." And I think that to a person with HIV/AIDS, he would tell them, "Go and sin no more."

Would he tell that to someone with cancer? I think so, because Jesus said that time and time again. I think there are times where a sinful lifestyle can lead to a disease in our bodies. I think Jesus would heal a person who drinks too much alcohol and ends up with cirrhosis of the liver and say, "Don't go back and do that again."

What led you to try to change AIDS policy in the U.S.? AIDS is a huge problem. People have to be aware of AIDS and how you contract AIDS and what you can do to prevent AIDS. We're responsible to do all that we can to preserve life—whether it's an unborn child or whether it's a person with HIV/AIDS sleeping on a park bench. I think we need to do everything we can to save and preserve life. Every person has a soul. And every person is a soul whom Jesus Christ died for on Calvary's cross, when he died for the sins of this world. I just want to do all that I can to try to save and preserve life.

DAVID J. PHILLIPS



Does your charity, Samaritan's Purse, distribute condoms? No, ma'am. No, ma'am, we don't.

How do you feel about condoms in a marriage situation, in which one spouse is HIV-positive and the other is not? Well, I think that's a decision between married couples. I think a married couple certainly should take all precautions, absolutely. But I don't see condoms as a way for a person to continue to

go out and live a sinful lifestyle and for us to say you're safe. You're not going to be safe.

Samaritan's Purse is active in the relief effort in Sudan. What do you think of the recent Darfur peace deal? I don't trust the [Sudanese] government. I don't trust them for a second. These are men who have murdered and murdered and murdered, and they're still in power. How can we trust them now?

Did you ever think you would live long enough to be a grandfather? Never thought I'd be a grandfather. You know, when you're in your 30s, you don't think about the end of your life. And I didn't think about it so much when I got to 40. But when I turned 50, it was like a switch went off. All of a sudden you think, boy, how fast the last 20 years went. You realize how important life is, how short life is and what's going to happen after life. Is that it? Or is there something beyond life that God has for us? The Bible teaches that there is—that there is eternity, and death is the portal that transfers us from this life to the next.

What have you learned about aging from your father? Well, you know he's 88 this year. I admire that he still has the desire to preach at his age and is just as focused today as he was 30 years ago. I think he's aged extremely well. I just hope I can do it half as well as he's done it.

Do you still ride your motorcycle and, if so, do you wear a helmet? I do, and yes, it's a state law [to wear a helmet]. Today it's kind of cold and foggy, so I won't ride. Well, I might. Never know. I might just get on to it and go if the sun peeks out. You know, when I was young, I didn't wear a helmet.

Is it a sin not to wear a helmet? No, it's not a sin. You know the Bible says our bodies are the temple of the Holy Spirit. And if we do something to hurt the bodies that we have, eating too much, eating the wrong foods, drinking too much, we are hurting this body God gave us and I think putting your body at risk when you don't need to put it at risk, like riding a motorcycle without a helmet, I just don't think it makes sense. I think God gave us a brain. He expects us to use it. ■

†Total MSRP for base model is \$15,955, including \$500 freight, excluding taxes, title, license, options and retailer charges. *CX model shown with optional features costs extra. Actual prices set by retailer. **Based on comparison of 2005 models. †See retailer for limited powertrain warranty details or go to kia.com.

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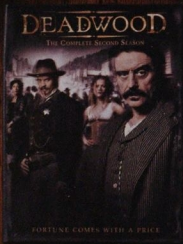
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LETTERS

Movers and Shakers

Our annual roundup of the 100 most influential people prompted comment about famous and not-so-famous sources of influence and appreciation for the diverse talents that shape our world

THANK YOU FOR INCLUDING A DIVERSE group of influential people in your TIME 100 list [May 8]. I was delighted to see the story on the South Korean pop star Rain. His fame across Asia and his upcoming English-language album show that pop culture no longer moves strictly from West to East.

JANET VO
Boston

AS A COLLEGE STUDENT STRUGGLING TO decide what to do with my future, I very much appreciated your list of the 100 most influential people. It was inspiring to see that all 100 people who influence society in so many different ways have at least one thing in common: passion. Your article reminded me that the most important thing is not what I do; I just need to love doing it.

LYDIA KIM
Evanston, Ill.

IT IS GOOD TO KNOW THAT AMERICAN stars such as Angelina Jolie and George Clooney are using their fame to address serious problems. Celebrities who choose to get involved in pressing social issues can raise awareness and inspire others to take positive action. Depicting Jolie as a puffy-lipped, pregnant Virgin Mary, however, was a wee bit overboard.

JACK GORDON
Sewickley, Pa.

I ADMIRE YOUR INCLUDING BILL and Melinda Gates in the list of important leaders. As a physician who has spent 50 years working in more than 20 countries, I have always dreamed that there would someday be enough money for the control of diseases in underdeveloped countries. Perhaps my dreams will come true through the generosity of that couple.

FEREYDOUN ARFAA
Danville, Calif.

AFTER READING ABOUT COSTCO CEO JIM Sinegal, I am getting a membership to Costco and will never again darken the doorway of Wal-Mart. It seems that Sinegal understands what many compa-



“It was inspiring to see that all 100 people who influence society in so many different ways have at least one thing in common: passion.”

LYDIA KIM
Evanston, Ill.

nies knew 50 years ago: if you take good care of good employees, they will serve the company, not only themselves.

PAUL HERMAN
Sun City West, Ariz.

THE ENTIRE ISSUE DESERVES COMMENDATION, but I especially thank you for the tribute to the Phoenix Suns point guard Steve Nash written by NBA Hall of Famer Charles Barkley. I have often wanted to send off a note to Nash thanking him for his positive attitude and the fine example he sets. To have had the article authored by Barkley must have been really meaningful for Nash.

(THE REV.) BILL ALBRIGHT
Macungie, Pa.

JOEL STEIN'S "MEET THE OTHER 100" gave me a great idea: to make a list of the people who matter most to me. I wish I had started that list a long time ago. At my age, 75, not everyone on my list is alive today, which is regrettable. I never took the trouble to tell a high school teacher or a business mentor or a beloved grandfather what a significant influence each had on my life. I urge young people to make a list every 10 years and make sure you take the time to tell those people why they have had an influence on your life. All will be better for having done so.

NELSON M. FELLMAN
Voorhees, N.J.

URBAN RADICAL



Jane Jacobs, a writer and activist who revolutionized the field of urban renewal, died last month at age 89. In 1961 *TIME* reviewed her book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Nov. 10, 1961):

"What is a city? demands Mrs. Jacobs in effect. It is, among other things, the shriek of children scooting in the streets, the clamor of crowded living; the neighborhood butcher's, where the housewife can leave her door key, and the corner delicatessen that stays open past midnight; the locksmith and the cobbler, and the florist's potted sidewalk garden; the front-stoop squads with time and chitchat on their hands; the old man gazing like a mute portrait from the frame of his second-story window ... What have the planners put in its place? Low-income projects that 'become worse centers of delinquency, vandalism and general hopelessness than the slums' ... Obsessed with statistics and blueprints, **CITY PLANNERS AND REBUILDERS FORGET TO FIND OUT WHAT THE PEOPLE WHOM THEY TRANSPLANT BY THE BLOCKFUL REALLY WANT.** Author Jacobs quotes a tenant from a Manhattan housing project: 'They threw our homes down and pushed us here and pushed our friends somewhere else. We don't have a place to get a cup of coffee or a paper even, or borrow 50¢ ...' Read more at timearchive.com.

Insulin Advice

COLUMNIST ANDREW WEIL'S "YOUR DRUG Was Discontinued" [May 8] addressed the discontinuation of animal-sourced insulin but did not include important information. Eli Lilly & Co. is helping patients make a safe transition from animal insulin to synthetic human and analog insulins, the gold standard for diabetes treatment, by providing resources and education to physicians and patients on alternative insulin-therapy options. Our first priority has been to help those patients make as smooth a transition as possible. And patients who still use animal insulin can seek permission to obtain it through a special process offered by the FDA on its website (www.fda.gov/cder/drug/beefandporkinsulin/; 301-734-3277). Thanks to innovations in treatment, only 2,000 of the 3.5 million Americans who needed insulin in 2005 were still using animal insulin.

DR. JOHN C. LECHLEITER
PRESIDENT AND COO
ELI LILLY & CO.
Indianapolis, Ind.

Ease Off the Gas

THE ONLY WAY TO LOWER THE PRICE OF gas for good is to decrease the demand [May 8]. Stop driving so much. Take the bus, ride a bike, take a walk, join a van pool, take the train. Buy hybrid cars and trade in your Hummers and SUVs. And once in a while, stay home. The natural order of the capitalist economy will take care of the rest. Then we can stop blaming the oil companies, the Arabs and the terrorists for the price of gas.

LEE KANN
Pittsburgh, Pa.

SINCE THE FIRST FUEL CRISIS, WE HAVE had more than 30 years to develop alternative fuels, yet we haven't done it. Coincidence? I don't think so. Brazil can free itself of imported oil by running its cars on sugarcane-derived ethanol, yet the most developed country in the world can't. Pressure by oil companies on our ethically and morally bankrupt politicians has put us in this spot.

GEORGE P. CUONZO
Chicago

IT AMUSES ME NO END TO SEE AMERICANS carping about gas prices while paying less than they are willing to pay for the same quantity of bottled water. It is time to wake up and realize that the price of a

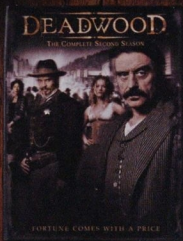
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precious commodity whose supply is dwindling can only go up, not down. It is time that Americans start investing in public transport and working near their homes or living near their jobs. Just think how much more you could accomplish if your commute were shorter and someone else did the driving.

SUDHIR JAIN
Calgary, Alta.

The Rhythm Method Remains

"CONDOM FIGHT: THE VATICAN STRIKES Back" [May 8] reported that the Roman Catholic Church is not changing its position and will not condone condom use under any circumstances. As a former Catholic, I rue the day when I confessed to a priest that I used birth control after having my fifth baby. That man said I was sinning and read the riot act to me. He had a lot of nerve! The church's policy against artificial contraception is nothing short of medieval.

MARY THOMAS
Garden Grove, Calif.

Stay-at-Home Dems

ESSAYIST CAITLIN FLANAGAN ARGUED that "the Democratic Party is losing the housewife vote" [May 8]. As a Democrat and a churchgoing wife and full-time mother, I can relate to Flanagan's frustration. To me, Democrats stand for equality, compassion for the poor, concern for the environment and a host of other traditional moral values. But Republicans have made opposition to abortion and gay marriage the moral high ground, even as they start wars, torture prisoners, give to the rich, take from the poor and promote the death penalty. Until the Democrats embrace the traditional moral values inherent in their phi-

losophy and shout them from the rooftops, the Republicans will continue to claim a monopoly on morality.

CATHERINE KOZLOWSKI
Sterling Heights, Mich.

FLANAGAN SOUNDS LIKE A LIBERAL SNOB with her nose twisted out of joint. As a widely published writer, she's hardly a classic stay-at-home mom. More likely, she is just irritated at the reaction her pieces have received from other liberal writers. But such polemicists do not constitute the soul of the Democratic Party. If Flanagan wants to become a Republican because she got her feelings hurt, she should try getting over herself.

DONAL JONES
Decatur, Ga.

Maid for Marriage

THE STORY "WANTED: NEW ROOMAID" [May 1] reported that the latest fad in living arrangements has the man working full time while sharing a home with a woman who cooks and cleans in return for free rent, no sex involved. What's so new about that? It's called marriage.

ARNIE POLLINGER
Holliston, Mass.

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SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

PICTURE THIS

- Our May 8 story on Caterina Fake and Stewart Butterfield, the founders of Flickr, a photo-sharing website, incorrectly stated that the idea for Flickr came from an engineer who created an easy way to post pictures on the Web. The idea was entirely Butterfield's.

Photo Courtesy of Bettmann/Getty



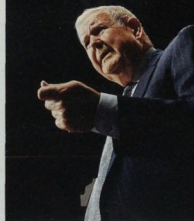
Hemingway's fiction.

Frost's poetry.

Khrushchev's mind.

Kennedy's favorite reading.

NoteBook



Did Marines Kill

WHEN A CONGRESSMAN makes the extraordinary claim that U.S. troops killed innocent civilians "in cold blood," Washington takes notice. And when he's a former Marine and decorated Vietnam vet, the assertion carries special weight. Pennsylvania Democrat John Murtha, who backed going to war in 2002 but has become a vocal critic of the Bush Administration's handling of Iraq, last week said U.S. Marines were guilty of murdering civilians in the Iraqi town of Haditha last November—an event that was uncovered by TIME in March.

Murtha made his claims after being briefed on an ongoing U.S. military investigation sparked by TIME's story, which detailed allegations that 15 Iraqis at Haditha might have been shot by Marines—not killed by a bomb, as the Marines had said. "It's much worse than was reported," said Murtha, the top Democrat on the House Defense



THE FIRST SIGN OF TROUBLE last week at the U.S. Navy's detention camp at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, came when guards found a prisoner unconscious in his cell. Then a second prisoner was discovered frothing at the mouth. Both had swallowed large amounts of an anti-anxiety drug. Not long after, 10 guards were lured into a medium-security barracks where a detainee was apparently getting ready to hang himself with a bedsheet. In the ensuing melee, prisoners wielded broken fan blades, light fixtures and pieces of metal against riot police, who fired pepper spray and rubber pellets, leaving several lightly injured on both sides. It was the most serious incident since terrorist suspects were first taken to Gitmo after 9/11.

The mini-riot erupted just as a United Nations panel monitoring compliance with the U.S.-ratified "Convention

Against Torture" called on Washington to close Gitmo. The panel also urged the U.S. to ban interrogation techniques that critics have described as torture and to stop the secret transfer of prisoners to other countries.

The White House response came swiftly. Spokesman Tony Snow insisted that all prisoners in U.S. custody are treated "fully within the boundaries of American law." The State Department, which had prepared a 184-page defense of U.S. detention practices in advance of the panel's ruling, denied abuse at Gitmo or elsewhere and argued that the U.N. had overstepped its mandate by calling for the camp's closure.

Yet there are signs that the White House may be having second thoughts. A Supreme Court ruling expected next month could give Gitmo's 460 prisoners full public hearings in U.S. courts. President Bush,

who has labeled Gitmo home to "the world's most dangerous terrorists," earlier this month acknowledged international criticism, saying, "Obviously, the ... issue is a sensitive issue for people. I very much would like to end Guantánamo." —By Adam Zagorin.

With reporting by Mike Allen, Sally B. Donnelly and Elaine Shannon

Mistreating The Guests

George W. Bush's insistence on a new guest-worker program as part of any immigration reform has infuriated many conservatives, but it is also sounding alarm bells among some immigrant-rights advocates. The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) argues that many guest workers already in the U.S. are



A debris-flecked pinero at a job on U.S. Forest Service land

being cruelly exploited—sometimes in government jobs—and fears that any expansion will lead to more instances of what



ALL I DO—JEREMY NEW

Murtha says U.S. troops killed innocent Iraqis in Haditha

sources in Iraq as enemy combatants. As *TIME* reported earlier, eyewitnesses cast doubt on the military's claim, saying four of the Iraqis had been pushed into a closet, then shot. Military sources deny the victims had been in a closet and said one had had a gun while another had "seemed" to be reaching for one.

The military investigation is expected to conclude in the next few weeks. Pentagon sources say at least three Marines are likely to face criminal charges, including homicide. Three officers have already been removed from their posts—in part for actions related to Haditha—and may be punished further. An additional nine Marines at the scene that day, who were led by a staff sergeant, could be charged with lesser violations.

—By Sally B. Donnelly, With reporting by Aparisim Ghosh and Tim McGirk

"in Cold Blood"?

Subcommittee. "There was no firefight. There was no [improvised explosive device] that killed those innocent people," Murtha claimed that "about twice as many" Iraqis were killed as had been reported. Other sources say investigators have found that up to two dozen Iraqis died, including eight men who had earlier been described by military

BLOGWATCH

Egyptian leader Hosni Mubarak's regime last week continued its crackdown on protesters, at right, who have been rallying against the government's decision to seek discipline for two judges who alleged fraud in last year's elections. Hundreds have been arrested, including *Bit Bucket* scribe Alaa Abdel-Fatah, who has become the agitators' virtual poster boy. Jailed on May 7, he blogs by passing notes to his wife, who posts them. His mood is surreal—"no feelings or emotions"; he hasn't joined other protesters on a hunger strike; and the jail has hundreds of cats. He is being treated well, he says: "It's a good cell."



GHORAN TOMASEVICH—REUTERS

Mary Bauer, an SPLC lawyer, calls "indentured servitude."

About 10,000 guest workers, mostly Mexican and Guatemalan, have temporary visas to plant trees and clear brush on private land or tracts owned by the U.S. Forest Service. Called *pineros* because many work in remote pine forests, the workers are recruited by private contractors with promises of high wages. But many *pineros* arrive in the U.S. as much as \$2,000 in debt for travel and visa expenses—costs the courts have ruled must be borne by employers. "Often recruiters make them leave the deed to their home

with a company representative as collateral to ensure they stay on the job," Bauer says. They routinely work 60-hr. weeks, are not paid federally mandated overtime and earn less than minimum wage.

Labor Department and Forest Service officials insist they are cracking down on unscrupulous employers and contractors. But critics like Congressman Joe Baca, a California Democrat, say they have not done enough. "If we're going to expand any kind of guest-worker program," Baca says, "we've got to make sure there's not this abuse." —By Douglas Waller



"I don't need to be lectured by you. You are no more a protector of the Constitution than am I."

ARLEN SPECTER, Senate Judiciary Committee chairman, to Russell Feingold after the Wisconsin Senator vocally opposed the committee's approval of a constitutional amendment banning same-sex marriage

"Soldiers on the border? That won't stop me. I'll swim the river and jump the wall. I'm going to arrive in the United States."

ANTONIO AURIEL, Honduran migrant, on the Bush Administration's plan to send National Guard troops to patrol the U.S.-Mexico border

"Do you think you are dealing with a 4-year-old child to whom you can give some walnuts and chocolates and get gold from him?"

MAHMOUD AHMADINEJAD, President of Iran, rejecting an E.U. offer to give his country nonmilitary nuclear technology, including a reactor, in exchange for halting uranium enrichment

"If the American people got any whiff that we thought having a national motto or a national anthem ... or a national language was unimportant to us, I think they would throw us all out."

LAMAR ALEXANDER, Republican Senator from Tennessee, in support of legislation to make English the U.S. national language

"It's my Ed Muskie moment."

TONY SNOW, new White House press secretary and colon-cancer survivor, after tearing up in his first televised briefing when asked about his LIVINGSTRONG bracelet. Senator Muskie famously became emotional in front of reporters during his 1972 presidential campaign

"My parents raised me to be a good sport, but I don't want to share the world record."

JUSTIN GATLIN, U.S. track star and world's fastest man for five days until he learned that because of a timing error, he had actually tied, not broken, Jamaican rival Asafa Powell's 100-m record of 9.77 sec.

"Me and Sonny are BFF now, because we did the Cha Cha Slide together."

MAGGIE MCDARIS, junior at Atlanta's Brookwood High School, on her new Best Friend Forever and dance partner, Georgia Governor Sonny Perdue, who threw an afterparty for Brookwood's prom to promote student safety

For more daily sound bites, visit time.com/quotes

Sources: AP (3); Congressional Record; New York Times; AP, Atlanta Journal-Constitution



HUSH, LITTLE GENESIS

THE NAME GAME

Jennifer ruled the girls in the 1970s, Michael was tops for the boys for 50 years. Move over, America's 1,000 most popular baby names of 2005—released earlier this month by the Social Security Administration—show that while biblical names still dominate the boys' list, nontraditional, spiritual-sounding names are rising fast among the girls. *Destiny* is No. 32, *Nevaeh*—heaven backwards, which didn't make the list before 2001—ranks 70th, and the U.S. welcomed 2,195 girls named *Genesis* (No. 155) last year. Such names “are a post-9/11 trend,” says Pamela Redmond Satran, co-author of eight baby-name books. “They come from a dual drive for meaning and individuality.” And occasionally from movie worship. Satran says the inspiration for *Trinity* (No. 48 for girls) may be less about Father, Son and Holy Spirit than the butt-kicking heroine of *The Matrix*. —By Rebecca Myers

3 TOP BOY NAMES

1. Jacob
2. Michael
3. Joshua

3 TOP GIRL NAMES

1. Emily
2. Emma
3. Madison

What Do I Hear for Mao's Head?

MAO ZEDONG'S UNSMILING visage inspired Andy Warhol and adorns China's currency. Now the original portrait of the founder of the People's Republic is—heresy!—going under the hammer in Beijing on June 3.

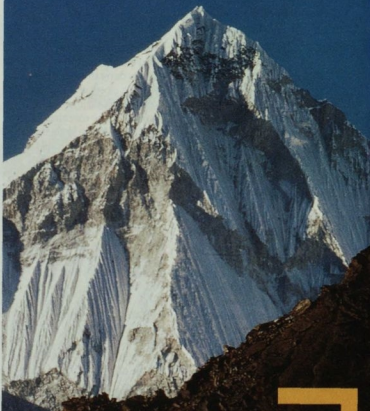
The painting is being sold by a Chinese-American collector. Auction firm Huachen, which downplays the piece's historical significance, describes Mao's expression in the portrait as “amiable.” That's probably not how Mao would feel if he found out

about the sale. All art should be “for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers,” he wrote in his *Little Red Book*. The auctioneers, who value the painting at about \$150,000, must not have taken that

chapter to heart. “We feel it's just like any other art product,” says Huachen spokesman Mei Li-gang. “There's no difference between it and other paintings for sale.” Spoken like a true red... capitalist. —By Hannah Beech



Painted in 1950 by art-school instructor Zhang Zhenzhi, the image was reproduced and distributed across China—and was the model for the portrait that still looms over Beijing's Tiananmen Square.



IT'S CROWDED AT THE TOP

RECORDS ARE MADE TO BE BROKEN, BUT ON MOUNT Everest they have been shattering at a dizzying pace in the past month. It's peak season on the 29,035-ft. summit—the world's highest—and more than 90 mountaineers made it to the top just last week. Here's a look at some of the notables who were up for the climb. —By Kathleen Kingsbury

PEAKING AT 70 Japan's Takao Arayama, believed to be the oldest person to scale Everest, got to the top when he was 70 years 7 months and 13 days old, edging the previous record holder by three days.

MOUNTING NATIONAL PRIDE Lebanon's flag was planted atop the peak for the first time, thanks to Maxim Chaya. And Leo Oracion became the first Filipino to the top.

REACHING NEW HEIGHTS Briton Rhys Jones, 20, may be the youngest person to have climbed the highest peaks on all seven continents. Right behind him: Australian Christopher Harris, 15, who is scaling Everest now and hoping to become its youngest summiteer ever.

AGAINST ALL ODDS New Zealander Mark Inglis, whose legs were severed below the knees because of frostbite on another expedition, became the first double amputee ever to summit. On the way up, Inglis had to repair a prosthetic limb—it snapped when he fell at about 21,000 ft.

HABITS ARE HARD TO BREAK Sherpa Appa has twice said he would stop making his annual climb, but last week he did it again—for a record 16th time since 1989.

HIGH PINKNESS Pneumonia ended Ali Bushnaq's quest to be the first Palestinian up the mountain. But his teammates on the Everest Peace Project, including two Israelis, made it all the way.

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THREE
PELTERS

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MAYBE THE
GUARD IS
STRETCHED
TOO THIN.

“Yesterday the Tony Award nominations were announced and Oprah Winfrey’s musical *The Color Purple* received 11 nominations. I was thrilled. I said, ‘Great, nice to see things finally starting to go Oprah’s way.’”

DAVID LETTERMAN

“Senator Hillary Clinton is being criticized because she recently called today’s college kids lazy and uninformed. A spokesperson for college kids said: ‘Whatever, lady from TV.’” CONAN O’BRIEN



“Where can I get one of those?!”

Walt
Handelsman
Newspix...OKAY, NOW YOU TALK
AND I'LL BE THE NSA GUY...

“In the wake of reports that the NSA is monitoring phone records, Senator Arlen Specter, the Judiciary Committee chairman, said he would subpoena phone companies to appear before his committee. The phone companies said they would try to be there sometime between 10 a.m. and 6 p.m.” TINA FEY

NUMBERS

\$17,316 Total value of personal gifts to President Bush last year, including a \$5,474 bicycle

\$39,722 Value of gifts to Vice President Cheney, including a \$6,125 Colt revolver

40,000 Average number of people on the official Medicare and Medicaid websites at any moment on May 15, the last day to enroll in the government’s drug-benefit plan

89% Proportion of senior citizens on Medicare who signed up for drug coverage before the deadline; 4.5 million still had not

130 Confirmed eye infections in the U.S. linked to Bausch & Lomb’s ReNu with MoistureLoc contact-lens solution, recalled last week

\$70 million Projected cost of the worldwide recall, in addition to a possible \$1 billion in lawsuits



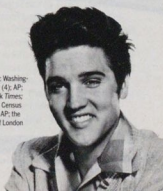
1¢ Amount Jacqueline Williams of Flint, Mich., owed her energy company when her power was shut off for seven hours last week

0.08% Proportion of U.S. households without electricity—nearly 100,000 homes

\$905,100 Sale price on eBay of a house owned and occupied by Elvis Presley for 13 months before he moved to Graceland. The buyer: psychic Uri Geller, who wants to turn it into a museum

600,000 Number of visitors to Graceland each year

Sources: Washington Post (4); AP; New York Times; AP; U.S. Census Bureau; AP; the Times of London



AVALON


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J.L. RINGO-EPA



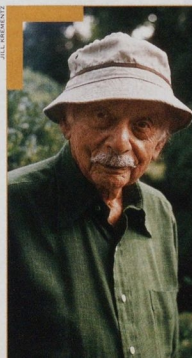
SANCTIONED.

The Rev. Marcial Maciel, 86, powerful Mexican-born founder of the conservative Legionaries of Christ, one

of the fastest-growing orders in the Roman Catholic Church; after an inquest into his alleged sexual abuse of seminarians dating to the 1940s, which he denies; in the first major abuse case to be handled by Pope Benedict XVI; in Vatican City. The Holy See declined to say if the allegations proved true, but called on Maciel to live a life of "prayer and repentance" and restricted him from publicly celebrating the sacraments.

RESIGNED. Ayaan Hirsi Ali, 36, prominent Somali-born Dutch parliament member and outspoken opponent of Islamic extremism; after officials, citing a TV report detailing Hirsi Ali's misrepresentation of her name and birth date on her 1992 asylum

JUL. ROBERTSON



application, declared her passport invalid, despite Hirsi Ali's previous public acknowledgment of the falsifications; in The Hague. Immigration Minister Rita Verdonk was widely criticized for her treatment of the women's advocate and forced to back down, but Hirsi Ali, who has endured death threats because of her views, said she planned to leave the Netherlands. She is expected to join Washington's conservative American Enterprise Institute.

DIED. Lew Anderson, 84, jazz saxophonist most famous for his six-year stint as Clarabell the Clown, Buffalo Bob Smith's sidekick on TV's seminal '50s children's hit, *The Howdy Doodly Show*; in Hawthorne, N.Y. The popular, seltzer-squirting clown was mute until the show's final episode in 1960, when a teary

Anderson turned to the camera and uttered the now famous, often replayed sign-off: "Goodbye, kids."

◀ DIED. Frankie Thomas, 85, curly-haired actor who shot to fame in the '50s as the hero of TV's *Tom Corbett, Space Cadet*; in Los Angeles. The



DIED. Stanley Kunitz, 100, acclaimed poet whose stark language and metaphorical bent earned him a Pulitzer Prize, a National Book Award and two terms as U.S. poet laureate; in New York City. He produced a dozen books over 75 years, culminating with last year's *The Wild Braid*, an homage to his lifelong passion of gardening. The longtime Columbia University professor hammered out dense, restrained gems on a manual typewriter, tackling both the personal (his father's suicide) and the universal (life, death, rebirth). "The deepest thing I know is that I am living and dying at once," he said, "and my conviction is to report that self-dialogue."

live, often cheesy show—it once employed a turtle to portray an evil dinosaur—followed the 24th century exploits of Tom and his fellow Space Academy trainees, who aimed to ensure "universal peace." Airing three times a week, it spawned idioms ("Don't blow your jets!") and dozens of

Tom Corbett products.

After the show ended in 1955, Thomas quit acting—"After Tom, where else could I go?" he said—and became a successful pro bridge player.



▲ DIED. Joyce Ballantyne Brand, 88, commercial artist who created the now iconic Coppertone suntan-lotion ad featuring a young girl whose bathing suit is being pulled down by a dog, exposing tan lines, accompanied by the slogan, "Don't be a paleface"; in Ocala, Fla. The illustrator, who did campaigns for Pampers and Coca-Cola and also painted pinup girls, employed her daughter Cheri, then 3, as the model for the famous ad. Cheri "worked cheap and was convenient," Brand said.

DIED. Cy Feuer, 95, legendary producer, with partner Ernest Martin, of Broadway musicals that defined the genre, including *Guys and Dolls* and the Tony-winning *How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying*; in New York City. Known during the musical's golden age as the creative half of "the King and Cy," Feuer oversaw every detail of his shows, sometimes taking the director's seat. Famously tough—he feuded with George S. Kaufman, Bob Fosse and Frank Loesser—he discovered Julie Andrews, whose career he launched with 1954's *The Boy Friend*, and helped turn *I Love Paris* and *C'est Magnifique*—from Cole Porter's critically panned hit show *Can-Can*—into standards.



YEARS AGO
IN TIME

Where's JIMMY HOFFA? The FBI search of a Michigan farm may help solve that mystery. Even before the Teamster boss vanished in 1975, his doings were cloaked in secrecy, despite Congress's inquiries.



Hoffa once tried to sum up in four short sentences his career after he left school at the end of the seventh grade: "I got a job in a department store—stock boy. Then I got a job at Kroger's. And that's my whole life. Pretty simple life." It was a lot more complicated than that. But in one sense Hoffa's career indeed followed a simple line: straight up the ladder of labor-union power... Hoffa's rise to power and the uses he has made of it are detailed and documented in the McClellan committee record, sprawling over 44,000 pages of testimony... But for all its awesome bulk, the record has some significant gaps: committee investigators found that many Teamster documents, including all records of Hoffa's own Local 299 for the years prior to 1953, had been destroyed or hidden. Most of the important Teamster officials who testified ducked behind the Fifth Amendment. Hoffa himself never took the Fifth, but he displayed what one Senator called "the best forgettiness of anyone I have ever known." **TIME, Aug. 31, 1959**



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Joe Klein

Bush Is Smart on the Border—and the G.O.P. Isn't

IN AN OUTDOOR PRESS CONFERENCE HELD ACROSS THE STREET from the Capitol last week, Representative Tom Tancredo—the Colorado Republican who has made a name for himself, momentarily, by bashing illegal immigrants—pretended to be mystified by his more moderate Senate colleagues. “Who are you responding to?” he asked of them. “Nobody,” he answered for them. None of the gazillions of citizen-patriots calling his office had expressed anything but dismay over the illegal aliens—a term that makes it sound as if the country were being invaded by Martians.

That was, of course, disingenuous. As Tancredo spoke, Capitol Hill was buzzing with busloads of people who had come to Washington to protest the punitive House legislation that Tancredo and his nativist Republican colleagues support. In fact, I had just spent some time with half a dozen Latino kids who had come from the suburbs of Chicago. “This issue has changed us,” said Duceo Pani, a student at the College of DuPage in Glen Ellyn, Ill., who wants to be a nurse. “We were not very political before. Most of us are citizens. We were born here. But now we know we have to fight for others—for our grandparents, for some of our parents. They would be criminals if this law passed.”

Pani and her busload of friends from St. Isidore's Catholic Church in Bloomingdale, Ill., may represent a significant moment in the history of American politics—another sign that the pendulum swing toward the right that began with the Democratic Party's embrace of the civil rights movement in the 1960s is ending. Lyndon Johnson famously predicted, after he signed the 1964 Civil Rights Act, that the South would be lost to his party for a generation. It was an understatement. Not only did the Republicans gain hegemony over the South, they also took most of the white, working-class voters in the North. Social issues—the three A's in the 1970s (acid, amnesty and abortion) and, later, the three G's (God, guns and gays)—cemented the shift.

There was some hope among Republican strategists, especially Karl Rove, that this formula might also work with the rapidly growing Latino vote and guarantee a G.O.P. majority in perpetuity. “Rove had a point. My people are very conservative on social values,” says Congressman Luis Guterrez, a Chicago Democrat. “We're family oriented, a lot of small-business owners. But the Republicans have blown that opportunity now. Even the Pentecostals are sending busloads to the protests. Spanish-language radio is announcing the vote on every amendment to the Senate immigration bill. You've got a generation of young Latino citizens whose first political impression is that Republicans are people who want to deport their parents.”

Not all Republicans, of course. George W. Bush's position on immigration has been consistent and honorable, even when he was clawing his way toward the Republican nomination in 2000, facing conservative audiences who inevitably asked hostile questions about the Mexicans coming across the border. “They just want the same thing for their families as you want for yours,” Bush would say—and his empathy paid off in the general elections, in which he won 35% of the Latino vote in 2000 and 40% in 2004. He stood by his principles again last week in his prime-time speech, promising to make a greater effort to protect the border while refusing to cave to conservative pressure against a pathway toward citizenship for the 12 million illegals already here. It can be argued that the position Bush took wasn't very courageous: vast majorities of Americans support it. About 65% favor either a guest-worker program or simple legalization of current illegals, according to a recent Pew Research Center poll. But it is never easy going against your party's base. For a Democrat, the equivalent would be opposition to affirmative action.

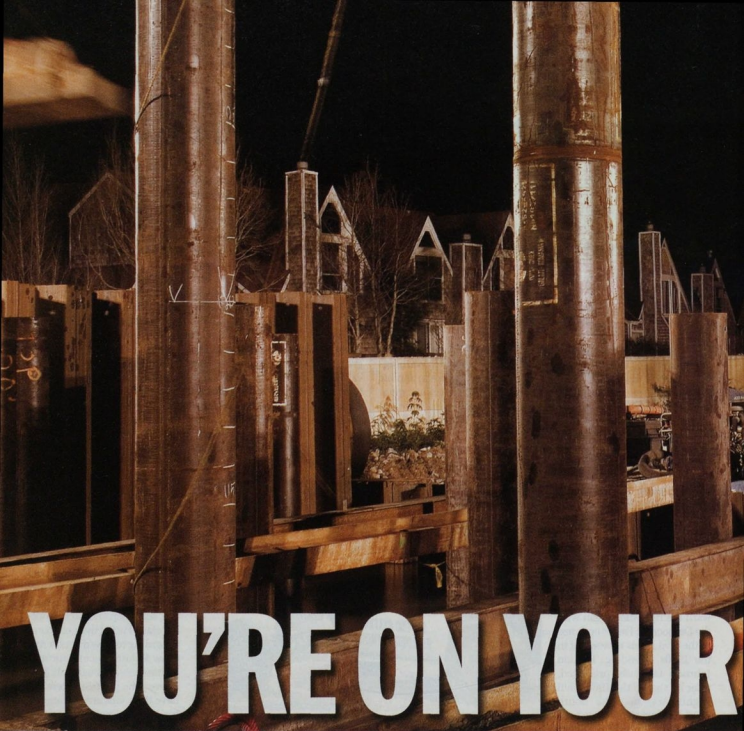
There is a transcendent bit of karma here. The people in the Republican Party who are most vehemently opposed to accommodating illegal immigrants tend to be the very same sort of people who left the Democratic Party over civil rights and social issues. They are white, Southern and Western, suburban and rural, working class. Part of their concern, according to Pew director Andrew Kohut, is economic and legitimate—although only 30% of even the poorest voters believe their jobs are threatened by immigrants. But sheer know-nothing nativism, a traditional



The President has stuck by his empathetic approach to immigration

Republican tendency, has been bolstered by the new arrivals into the party. Indeed, the strongest feelings against immigrants tend to come from the places—red-state rural counties—where immigrants don't exist: 59% of voters in counties where immigrants make up less than 5% of the population believe that all illegals should be deported. That constituency is as ancient as the Republic, perennially exploited by unscrupulous politicians who are willing to play to their racial fears—the Democrats for a century after the Civil War, the Republicans ever since. Happily, the busload of politically committed kids from St. Isidore's, and thousands of others like them, may signal the end of all that. Even Tom Tancredo may soon figure out that the Senate majority and the moderates in the House are “responding to” the future. ■

To see a collection of Joe Klein's recent columns, visit time.com/klein



YOU'RE ON YOUR

By CATHY BOOTH THOMAS NEW ORLEANS

YOU DON'T HAVE TO ASK ALICIA AND ERIC HANSEN IF THEY ARE READY FOR THE next hurricane to hit New Orleans. Visit them in their sunny yellow bungalow, which took on 3 ft. of water after Hurricane Katrina. The house now sits high and dry on concrete columns that soar 11 ft. into the air. The first time Alicia walked up a ladder into her living room, she stomped on the floor to make sure the whole thing wouldn't collapse like a wobbly flamingo. Now, she says, nothing but the "perfect storm"—a Category 4 or 5—will budge her. "I'm not planning on leaving," she says, peering down from her home in the treetops. "Flooding isn't any issue anymore."

With the hurricane season starting June 1, flooding is on everyone's mind in New Orleans these days. Downtown last week, government officials, military men in desert gear and private suppliers ran a tabletop exercise against a fictional Category 4 hurricane

named Oscar. Next up: the exercise goes live, with role players posing as residents fleeing a Category 3 storm by bus from the Earnest N. Morial Convention Center, the scene of real-life tragedy after Katrina. Along Lake Pontchartrain, meanwhile, contractors for the Army Corps of Engineers are rushing to finish new floodgates on the city's perimeter, working even at night under klieg lights. New levees replacing those wiped out by the hurricane are nearly finished. The result, ironically, is that the Katrina-ravished Ninth Ward, lying devastated behind its new, higher, for-



OWN

On the eve of hurricane season, New Orleans has learned Katrina's lesson: Trust no one and nothing

tified levee, may now be one of the safer places to live in the city.

Still, New Orleanians learned a valuable lesson from Katrina: Trust no one and nothing. They're not counting on the levees to hold or the government to rescue them this time. Neighborhoods like Broadmoor are recruiting block captains to canvass residents who have returned, noting which homes are occupied, who lives in flimsy trailers and which elderly residents might need help. In Gentilly, where many senior citizens died, residents are looking into their own text-messaging system for

THE FLOODGATES

Construction on the 17th Street Canal floodgates goes on around the clock. The steel columns will support a gate system to block storm surges

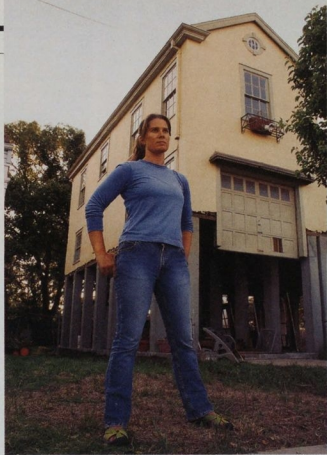
emergency alerts. Self-sufficiency is everyone's mantra, from civic associations to city hall. "We have purchased jet boats and sandbags," says Glenn Stoudt of the Lakeview Civic Improvement Association, before trying out a joke. "There are several

arks being constructed, and the rats and mosquitoes are pairing up." That's called hurricane humor in these parts.

Ask people in New Orleans about their hurricane plans, and they will give you a sad smile. These are people who saw the dead floating in the street, heard gunshots down the block and had to paddle their way to safety on a dinghy or a mattress. Dr. Dwayne Thomas, CEO of Charity Hospital System—the little left of it, that is—went through five hellish days after Katrina waiting for someone to rescue 367 patients at the flooded facility. He was siphoning

PRECAUTIONS

Alicia Hansen and her husband elevated their house at a cost of \$31,000. The old garage door will be replaced by more decorous arches



gas from National Guard trucks to run generators to sustain the critically ill; eight patients died. "Our experience in Katrina taught us the same thing our parents taught us—to be self-sufficient, self-responsible, disciplined and organized," he says, a look of humor mixed with pain in his eyes. His staff members kidded him when he showed up the night before Katrina with a "hurricane box" containing a sledgehammer and life jackets. They laugh no more, he says. This year Charity, which can barely sustain an emergency room in a defunct Lord & Taylor store, plans to shut down and evacuate for anything greater than a tropical storm.

Forecasters at Colorado State University believe there's nearly a 50% chance of a major hurricane hitting the coast between Florida and Texas this year, up from a normal 30% chance. New Orleans officials are assuming the worst in planning for a big storm, having learned the hard way that commercial phone lines will fail, cell-phone towers will topple, repair teams could take days (or, more likely, weeks) to show up and the National Guard will come packing guns but no walkie-talkies. "In the end, you can only count on yourself," says deputy mayor Greg Meffert, the city's chief technology officer and a onetime tech entrepreneur. Like every other city employee, from the mayor on down, Meffert is worried that the "rookie levee system"—untested since repairs began—could fail again.

The truth is, New Orleans, if hit, will flood. How badly depends on the hurricane. In his book *The Storm* (Viking; 320 pages), out this week, Louisiana State University researcher Ivor van Heerden argues that Katrina wasn't the mythical Big One, a frightening conclusion for a city entering a new hurricane season. The storm made landfall east of New Orleans as a fast-moving Category 3, he notes, but the winds that lashed the city—weakens by wetlands and miles of subdivisions—registered only as a Category 1. Van Heerden, deputy director of the LSU Hurricane Center in Baton Rouge, warns that a slow-moving Category 3 hurricane passing west of the city would flood levee to levee—including the historic French Quarter, which was

spared last time—even without the embankments breaking. Another man-made disaster, like the levee breaches after Katrina, could turn New Orleans into a "Cajun Atlantis," Van Heerden fears, crippling the coastal economy along with it. "The uneasiness is not just in New Orleans. It's right across the southern part of the state," he says.

On a tour of the city's earthen and floodwall defenses last week, Van Heerden said levee problems could endanger areas that were not flooded after Katrina, including the west bank of the Mississippi and the western suburbs of New Orleans, most notably near the airport, an area crucial to every evacuation plan.

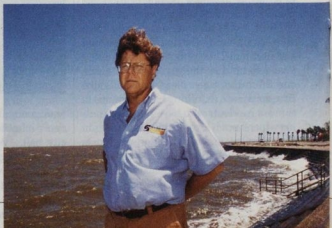
As he talks, Van Heerden takes a sample of shell-studded sand, maybe 6,000 years old, that Katrina dumped all over houses next to the London Avenue Canal—one of three drainage canals built to carry water out of the low-lying city. As part of Team Louisiana, the state group investigating why the city flooded, Van Heerden has been walking the entire levee system, and has come to the conclusion that the Corps'

SCIENTIST Van Heerden, at Lake Pontchartrain, worries about a "Cajun Atlantis"

design was largely to blame. According to Van Heerden, the team's report, set for release May 31, will show that 87% of the water that flooded New Orleans came through breaches in the floodwalls, not over the tops of levees. That's key because a storm surge topping the levees would have lasted but a few hours, leaving at most 3 ft. of water in New Orleans, he calculates. The breaches, by comparison, let water pour in for days, inundating houses up to their rooftops.

■ TRYING TO MAKE THE LEVEES READY

DAVID DANIEL, HEAD OF THE AMERICAN Society of Civil Engineers team reviewing the Corps' work, has also criticized the nation's chief engineers for playing it "too close to the margins" of safety in the past. He gives them kudos for getting the city's levees "back to where we were" before





NABO PAUL-BETTY HARRIS

Katrina—but that's also what worries him as the city prepares for a new storm season. Every levee, says Daniel, is still too low by a couple of feet because the Corps didn't calculate for the ground subsiding. "If they find other areas that were a hairline away from failure before, they need to fix those right away," he says.

The hopes and fears of the city are, for now, concentrated on a tall, rangy Corps veteran, Lieut. Colonel Lewis Setliff, head of Task Force Guardian, the group charged with repairing the levee system. Setliff's team has been given an \$800 million pocketbook to repair more than 200 miles of levee damage and construct three unique floodgate systems to stop storm surges from riding into the city via the three drainage canals breached after Katrina. The Corps admitted last week that two of the three floodgates it was building for the job would not be finished on June 1, as promised. The anticipated delay—a month in the case of one gate structure—has made people in New Orleans nervous, if not downright angry.

Setliff is soothing and honest, admitting that the Corps is "struggling" with designs never before built. Engineers, he notes, had to start construction before finishing the designs in hopes of beating the first storm. Though they'll miss the deadline, he says, "there is really little risk [from hurricanes] in June." Just in case, the Corps

MEDICAL CARE

Supplies pile up at the makeshift ER at Charity Hospital's new home in an abandoned department store. Charity operates at a much reduced capacity

has a backup plan: pilings already stacked at the scene can be driven into the canal bed to stop storm surges—a job that would take three days to complete in the "worst case," Setliff promises. That plan, put into effect along Lake Pontchartrain before Hurricane Rita, worked well—though it was little solace for the unprotected Ninth Ward, which flooded for a second time.

The Corps' standard line of defense in answering critics is that the levees around New Orleans will be "better and stronger" than they were before Katrina and that Congress has not authorized an all-out rebuilding of the entire system. Setliff believes the system is generally capable of handling a slow-moving Category 2 or a fast Category 3. "We know we're making important decisions [that affect] people's livelihoods. We are their engineers. But Congress tells us how to build," he says, refusing to address criticisms that the Corps should be more proactive. People in New Orleans "should know the chances of a catastrophic failure are significantly reduced," says Setliff. "They also need to know there's a risk."

Finding out about the risk is often tricky. Mechanical engineer Matt McBride and eye doctor Joe Thompson turned into part-time detectives to see what was going on with the pumping system that keeps the "bowl" New Orleans sits in dry. Thompson, 42, went snooping at local Pump Station No. 1, inviting himself in for a tour (so much for security). He soon found that five of the station's seven pumps had been submerged by post-Katrina floodwaters. One, turned on after the waters receded, caught fire. He got a similar report at Pump Station No. 6: six of nine pumps were submerged, and three later caught fire. The Corps last week outlined \$40 million in work needed to repair more than 60 city pumps, a number of them made at the beginning of the 20th century. But the process takes so much time—35 days—that the repair work

won't be finished until fall, toward the end of the storm season.

In investigating the fires, Thompson and McBride realized that the city was—revise that: is—losing its ability to pump water out. "If there's not enough pumping power and they close the new floodgates at the end of the drainage canal, that means water is going to back up into the neighborhood," says McBride, 33. As fellow members of the Broadmoor Improvement Association, he and Thompson are supposed to advise residents about rebuilding. "But Joe and I realized we had a real pickle on our hands," says McBride. "No matter what we recommended to residents—raising their houses or putting air-conditioning up on blocks—it might not matter at all. Our question is, Are they going to be able to pump enough water out to prevent flooding? We don't know."

■ PREPARING FOR THE WORST

GIVEN ALL THE UNCERTAINTIES, THE CITY'S evacuation plan is simple: Get out of town before a bad storm strikes. Vera Trippett, 34, stood in her three-bedroom ranch house in Gentilly last week, contemplating the rapidly approaching hurricane season. Her house stewed for weeks in 10 ft. of nasty water after Katrina. She's reluctant to put her trust in the levees, but, she says, "I do have faith in the Corps' need not to be embarrassed again." As a result, she and her husband John are finishing repairs. They



have gutted their house, put in hurricane-resistant windows and listened, yes, listened, to make sure every roofing sheet got the required six nails. But that doesn't mean they're not prepared to leave if they have to. Trippett was once blasé about hurricanes. Not anymore. "Even if it's a Category 1," she says, "we're out of here."

That is precisely what the city and state want. In announcing evacuation plans in early May, the city's embattled Mayor Ray Nagin, who won re-election Saturday, pointedly noted that there would be no shelter of last resort like the Superdome or "vertical" evacuations to hotels downtown. He said the city would be calling more readily for evacuations, ordering everyone out for a hurricane as weak as Category 2. The state last week geared up shelter plans, identifying places for 55,000 evacuees—more space than was available last year after the Superdome closed. In addition to Red Cross facilities, the state said it would open up its own shelters and has called in advance for help from the Federal Government.

While stressing that residents should arrange for their own evacuation, Nagin has promised that buses and trains would take those without transportation, as well as the elderly and people with special medical needs, to out-of-town shelters before a storm hits. The state, which has responsibility for transportation, has already contracted with private coach companies and school districts for an unknown number of buses. State help is key since the Regional Transit Authority, which runs public transportation in New Orleans, has only about 100 operat-

EVACUATION PLANS

Caroline Skinner and her mother Lovin go over their plan to caravan out of the city with other relatives after an evacuation order is given

ing buses that survived Katrina. A new system of processing evacuees at two locations in New Orleans—the convention center and Union Passenger Terminal—gets its first real test during this week's hurricane exercise.

Complicating matters for city hurricane planners is the current state of the city's emergency workers, with police and fire employees largely working out of trailers—about the worst place to be in a hurricane. Unlike the police, which had scores of defections in the aftermath of Katrina, the fire department had none. But of the 600-plus firefighters, 100 are out sick on any given day, much of it ascribed to Katrina-related illnesses, says Superintendent Charles Parent. To avoid a repeat of last year's looting, Police Superintendent Warren Riley has promised that the city's cops will be on the streets patrolling with National Guard troops and enforcing a 6:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m. curfew on those who don't leave. He has already asked for 3,000 Guardsmen for the next storm, whenever it comes.

Communications are expected to be a huge headache yet again. During Katrina, New Orleans overnight lost \$500 million worth of telecom structure—fiber-optic and copper wire—leaving the city's emergency-operations center at city hall with a superfast

T1 line as useless as a set of tin cans. Deputy mayor Meffert ended up handing out Nextel walkie-talkies for all the out-of-town help and cobbling together a voice-over-Internet communications system out of old computers, which still serves the city.

To avoid being caught again "with our britches down," Meffert says, he not only has Plans A and B for emergency communications but also Plans C, D, E and F. He has moved the backup generators to higher ground; installed a wi-fi system downtown and backed up "hot spots" like city hall, emergency operations and the police command center with solar chargers; brought in wi-fi-compliant phones that allow emergency management to text message as well as make calls; and wrangled four vans with satellite uplinks in the event all else fails. Finally, he got what he jokingly refers to as "footballs," suitcases like the one that contains the President's supersecret nuclear codes, except Meffert's provide super-portable communication with the outside world. Total cost: less than \$5 million. The weak link remains the 911 system, he says. All three stations were flooded by Katrina, and a new structure capable of surviving a Category 4 storm is still under construction. For now, New Orleans 911 is operating out of a temporary trailer, relying on landlines that could be downed by high winds.

Out in Broadmoor, Alicia Hansen is feeling pretty satisfied that she took \$30,000 in flood-insurance money and raised her house. She has taken all the funds Red Cross offered and plans to use a tax credit on her new solar paneling. Neighbors now want to raise their houses too but find prices for the job have skyrocketed 50% in the past few months. Hansen added another story as she repaired the house. "And below, it's all patio—party city," she says.

Some days Hansen admits getting depressed after arguing with the city over her request for an electric permit, which was turned down because her brother, who is not licensed in Louisiana, wired the house. She doesn't have air-conditioning or a refrigerator. When friends e-mail her pictures of the giant steel structures protecting London and Amsterdam, she gets riled, contemplating the "crappy" earthen mounds that shield her own city. But she's staying put. Her husband has a great job as an underwater diver in the Gulf, and she loves her friends and her work as a music librarian. "We didn't want to cop out. This is history. This is a great city." She's facing storm season, ready or not. —*With reporting by Russell McCulley/New Orleans and Adam Piduk/Fort Worth*

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JERRY BROWN STILL WANTS YOUR VOTE

The California dreamer has been mayor, Governor and tried for the presidency three times. Why won't he ever retire?

By MICHAEL DUFFY OAKLAND

CALIFORNIA'S JERRY BROWN, AGE 68 and ageless, is running for statewide office this year, 36 years after he did it the first time, and the question you have to ask is, Why doesn't he give it up? It's Thursday morning, and Brown, mayor of Oakland, is standing in incandescent sunshine outside the renovated Sears store he calls home. Not much is going smoothly this morning: the city had its 50th murder the night before, adding to a huge spike above 2005; his opponent in the race for California attorney general has just called him soft on crime; one of the two charter schools he helped start is in need of cash; and now Fox television wants him to go on camera as a commentator and defend a new text-messaging service being marketed to teens that offers information on sex. "I am a little stressed today," he says.

But asking Edmund Brown Jr. to give up politics is a little like asking the Rolling Stones to quit rock 'n' roll. It's just what they do. Brown is a rock star himself. The son of a storied California Governor and a veteran of nearly four years in a Jesuit seminary, he ran for California secretary of state at 32, was on the cover of *TIME* by 36, served two terms as California Governor, ran unsuccessfully for the Senate once and for President three times, moved to Japan, studied Buddhism, worked with Mother Teresa and was a radio talk-show host—all

before diving into the unforgiving cauldron of Oakland politics a decade ago. He is at an age when over-achievers in nearly every other profession would start to pack it in. But no man who wakes up at 5 a.m. to read and has been known to keep an eye on Fox News after midnight should be considered a candidate for retirement anytime soon.

BROWN IS IN AN AIDE'S CAR, TALKING NON-stop, jabbing and gesturing, impervious to interruption, pointing out potholes and telling the aide where to stop and when to turn. Brown is fun to watch. He is trim, constantly in motion, his brown eyes still piercing and just a touch sad. Compared with almost any other politician, he's a riot to talk to, a one-man romp through everyone from St. Paul to Albert Camus. Jane Brunner, a city councilwoman who didn't vote for the mayor but thinks he has done a good job, says that when she goes into his office, she is never certain whether she is going to be in there for two minutes or two hours.

It's an old joke that Oakland has been a city of the future since forever, but that is finally coming true in ways that are good and bad. The city of 412,000 is roughly 35% black, 31% white, 21% Hispanic and 15% Asian. Refugees from more expensive ZIP

codes across the bay have fled to Oakland in the past decade, seeking cheaper housing. But the city has long been slow to seize its opportunities, and Brown's time as mayor has been a test of whether even that can be changed. When he was elected in 1998, he successfully led an effort to restructure Oakland's government and give the mayor new powers to break through a stolid municipal bureaucracy. Since then, he fired his city manager and two city planners, replacing them with people who worked harder to lure private investment. As he tours through a booming residential area south of downtown, he sounds a little dismayed by how resistant some Oakland residents remain to change.

The neighborhood known as Jack London Square, a district of noodle factories and produce warehouses on Oakland Inner Harbor, is giving way to dozens of new loft-apartment and condo buildings. That



BROWN ON HILLARY: "Sure, she can win. Anything is possible." ON AL GORE: "Would



BUILDING BOOM Brown, left, has delivered on his 1998 mayoral campaign promise to lure 10,000 residents to downtown Oakland

This being the Bay Area, not everyone is thrilled. Longtime residents say Brown is driving up rents and tax assessments. Hard-boiled leftists say Brown has sold off the city's commercial heritage to profiteers. And affordable-housing advocates want builders to provide various givebacks and mitigations before putting up high-end condos—a demand Brown, sounding more like an Orange County conservative, can't fathom. "The problem with that is that this is just one of 100 possible markets where private developers can put their money. If we make it even a little harder to come here, they won't come. We need to be more attractive than those places, which is why some progressives don't like me."

But the main reason many liberals don't love him has to do with his battle to contain the city's crime rate. The number of murders this year has nearly doubled last year's count for the same period. There are problems with street robberies and what the cops call rat packers, gangs of kids who beat up people on buses and then head back to school to brag about it. The local jails are sometimes too full to permit arrests for certain crimes. A local television report recently quoted an Oakland police estimate that one-fourth of the city's prostitutes were underage. Crime has dropped since Brown became mayor, but it's rising again, fast.

All that is one reason Brown is spending part of the afternoon with 40-odd police supervisors, talking about crime trends. Another is that his main opponent in the race for the Democratic nomination in the state's attorney-general race, Los Angeles city attorney Rocky Delgadillo, aired an ad in mid-May accusing Brown of proposing to slash funding for Oakland cops. Although Brown did propose cuts in 2003, the police budget has grown more than 50% since 1999. Brown has pushed the force to transfer officers from desk jobs to street patrols, and he backed a 10 p.m. curfew on some parolees and probationers. The city is trying to raise bails to keep suspects in jail, and cameras have been installed in high-crime areas. Recently the city tested "shot spotter" technology to isolate gunshots using acoustic technology.

Brown has come under withering criticism from African Americans and civil libertarians who say he has turned Oakland into a police state, and the cops are under a

explosion in private investment—although limited to only a few pockets of the city—is the centerpiece of Brown's tenure as mayor, the fulfillment of a promise he made eight years ago to bring 10,000 residents to downtown Oakland. Brown points to building after building, each financed with private capital, opening their doors to tenants or just completing construction. "That is new. That is new. That one is finished. This one will be finished soon," he says, as we drive around. "For 40 years, there was nothing here. Now there are going to be 10,000 people living in downtown Oakland." All that concrete and mortar may be a

special source of pride for a man who picked up the nickname Moonbeam in the 1970s for being a little too theoretical. "This is the most visible achievement that I've ever done," Brown says. "This is a tangible. It wasn't there before."



MARRIED MAN The mayor wed longtime partner Anne Gust, a former Gap executive, last year

be powerful" as an antiwar candidate, particularly if "he loses some weight."



court order to mend their more abusive habits. Some Brown critics have said he has adopted a tough-on-crime stance to help him elsewhere in the state in his race for attorney general. But as Brown questions the cops at headquarters, he doesn't sound like their friend. How many cops are on the street right now? How many of them are on patrol, and how many are responding to calls? Why don't we know that? Are they all paid the same? Is there special pay for the more effective officers? What time does crime pick up in the day? When does it slack off? It goes on like that for nearly 90 minutes, until it becomes clear that everyone needs a break. Walking out, Brown says his job is to keep the pressure on police. "I was trying to get them to think differently. We have a lot of dedicated criminals here."

BROWN SITS DOWN THE NEXT MORNING to talk over a cappuccino at a downtown coffee shop. You don't really interview Jerry Brown. He does that for you. You just try to keep up. He talks about California and whether it is becoming more conservative. (He's not sure.) He is worried about the growing number of workers who can find jobs only in the underground economy. (It's not the taxes employers are avoiding, he says. It's the health benefits and safety regulations.) He complains that to reach undecided voters, candidates have to buy ads on *American Idol* and *Desperate House-*

CRIME FIGHTER Brown meets with local police, whose annual budget has increased more than 50% during his term as mayor

wives—an absurd context for messages about governing. (But he adds, "You gotta take 'em where they are.") He insists that journalists are clueless captives of the narrow-minded worlds they come from—a number he has been running on reporters for more than 30 years, but it's still pretty effective. "You are a prisoner of the TIME-LIFE world that sent you," he says. When I'm not immediately sure how to respond to that, he goes in for the kill: "Well, is it true, or is it not?"

Even when he is rolling, Brown will engage only briefly about national politics. Brown describes Hillary Clinton as "iconic" and disagrees with those who say she can't win. "Sure, she can win," he says. "Anything is possible." Al Gore "would be powerful" as an antiwar candidate if, Brown says, "he loses some weight." The mayor has no patience for George W. Bush. Brown calls him a "cowboy." Republicans are under fire for so many things, Brown observes, that even "Fox News is exhibiting signs of anxiety."

He can't run for mayor again. He made sure the job was term limited when he took it in 1998, he says, "in case I got tempted to stay." How come? "You lose your edge. You need new challenges. You start thinking you own the place." Why does he want to be attorney general when

he has already been Governor? Brown says the jobs are completely different. A Governor plays defense across a broad front, he says, whereas an attorney general can play offense in a more targeted way—on workers' rights, the environment and consumer protection, all at a time when the "rule of law has been undermined" by the Bush Administration. "The balance between change and continuity has always been a part of my life. Continuity looms a lot right now." He thinks about that for a moment and then adds, "In a society of rootlessness and rapid change, I'm running as the traditionalist."

Brown did the most traditional thing of all last year. He married Anne Gust, a former Gap executive he had been seeing steadily for 15 years. Friends say she has calmed down the frenetic Brown and given his sense of humor a beta boost. Brown, a Catholic, organized the ceremony, chose the medieval chants, cleared the whole thing with Rome and held the private service in the same San Francisco parish in which his parents were married. When I ask the obvious question—"So, how's married life?"—his reply is pure, distilled, 100-proof Brown: "It's a good thing. There is a certainty, a finality about it. I was very conscious that it was a vow, and I liked that. It's part of a higher order. In a frivolous age, it has a depth that is very welcome."

And, he might have added, so does Jerry Brown himself. ■




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WORLD

THE MOST DANGEROUS PLACE

On a harrowing trip inside Iraq's toughest city, TIME gets an up-close view of the U.S.'s daily battles against the insurgents. An eyewitness account reveals why the war remains as deadly as ever **By Michael Ware/Ramadi**

Photographs for TIME by Yuri Kozыrev



DRAWING FIRE

Marines tend to a wounded comrade and call for backup during a patrol through a residential part of Ramadi



▲ SMOKE SCREEN

As they move through the city's streets in search of insurgents, members of Kilo Company, 3rd Battalion, 8th Marine Regiment, toss purple smoke grenades to shield themselves from snipers

◀ SUSPICIOUS LOOKS

Iraqi men take cover inside a shop while U.S. troops maintain positions on the roof to defend against sniper fire. U.S. troops later identified the man in blue, second from right, as a possible member of the insurgency

► UNDER SIEGE

Two Marines tote their armor through the main government-building complex in downtown Ramadi, which comes under frequent attacks. The Marines had just returned from a firefight with enemy fighters





IT'S ANOTHER SWELTERING AFTERNOON IN THE most dangerous place in Iraq, and the men of Kilo Company, 3rd Battalion, 8th Marines, are looking to pick a fight. First Lieut. Grier Jones splits his 30-odd-man platoon into two squads and sets them loose on the streets of Ramadi. They run block to block, covering one another as they sprint across intersections. Insurgents bob their heads out of homes to catch a glimpse of the Marines—"turkey peeking," as the troops call it—a sign that they are preparing to attack. "We come out here every day, and we get shot at," Jones tells an Iraqi woman who speaks American-accented English. "Where are the bad guys?" She falls silent. Outside, a blue sedan peels away. "Watch that car," a Marine yells, sensing a possible ambush.

His instincts are right. At the next intersection, the Marines duck into a house. Suddenly a machine gun lets rip, spewing bullets around them. "Where's it coming from?" a Marine yells. Immediately, shooting opens up from a second direction. Jones gets his men to the roof to repel the two-sided attack. "Rocket!" screams a grunt, unleashing an AT4 rocket at one of the insurgent positions. Men reel from the blast's concussion. The shooting from the east stops. But as Jones peers over a cement wall to locate the second ambush position, a 7.62-mm round whizzes by. "Whoa, that went right over my head," he says, smiling. As

the Marines on the roof fire at the insurgents, Jones orders a squad to push toward the enemy position. Then the enemy weapons go quiet; the insurgents are apparently withdrawing to conserve their energy. Jones radios back to his commanders. "We saw the enemy do a banana peel back, then peel north." He chuckles. "This is every day in Ramadi."

There's no reason to believe that the Americans' battle against Iraqi insurgents is going to get better. With U.S. support for the war sinking, the Bush Administration is eager to show that sufficient progress is being made toward quelling the insurgency to justify a drawdown of the 133,000 troops in Iraq. The U.S. praised the naming of a new Iraqi Cabinet last week, even though it includes some widely mistrusted figures from the previous government. And even as commanders try to turn combat duties over to Iraqi forces and pull U.S. troops back from the front lines, parts of Iraq remain as deadly as ever. At least 18 U.S. troops died last week, raising the total killed since the invasion in March 2003 to 2,456.

Nowhere is the fighting more intense than in Ramadi, the capital of Anbar province and for the moment the seething heart of the Sunni-led insurgency. The city remains a stronghold of insurgents loyal

to Abu Mousab al-Zarqawi, the leader of al-Qaeda in Iraq, who U.S. intelligence believes is hiding in an area north of the city. In recent weeks, the soldiers and Marines in Ramadi have come under regular assault, forcing commanders last week to order reinforcements to the besieged city. In the past year, the Army's 2/28th Brigade Combat Team, the unit the Marines are attached to, has lost 79 men in Ramadi—yet the brigade's commander, Colonel John Gronski, says, "The level of violence remains about the same."

TIME spent a week with Kilo Company, the 120-person unit that goes head to head with the insurgents every day. The goal is to lure al-Qaeda into attacks, which Kilo Company has been doing successfully: in a single week, five men were wounded, three foot patrols were ambushed, and there were unrelenting attacks from small-arms fire and mortars. The experience of the Marines in Ramadi illuminates some of the shortcomings of the U.S. strategy for defeating the insurgency. The commander has only one brigade to secure the town, even though U.S. officers say privately that at least three are needed. Among the troops, frustration is growing: many officers say that the U.S. is too lenient in its dealings with the enemy, allowing too many captured insurgents to go free, and that soldiers can do little more than act as international police. Others claim that superiors are overlooking their reports about conditions on the ground. If the U.S. and its Iraqi allies are making progress in eroding the appeal of the resistance, the men in Ramadi don't see it. Says an American officer: "This s_____ ain't going anywhere."

FROM THE INSTANT KILO COMPANY set foot in Ramadi, the Marines knew they were in the middle of an insurgent hotbed. Lance Corporal Jose (Syco) Tasayco was on the unit's earli-







BLOWBACK

From the roof of the government complex, the Marines fire a rocket at an enemy position and produce a storm of smoke and dust

est patrol outside the wire in March. "The first day was an eye opener. We got contact, that first patrol. It was like, wow, we couldn't believe it, but we got outta there good. Nobody got hit," he says. The Marines are based in the battle-scarred Government Center in the middle of Ramadi, a magnet for al-Qaeda attacks—one of the few ways the Marines can find their enemy. The precarious outpost also protects the nascent local government, which operates out of its confines.

Sitting sentry in the center of town, the Marines are a ripe target for insurgent assaults. On April 24, mortars begin crashing down on the compound, and the shuddering impacts force the grunts to take cover in their rooftop bunkers. From an alley in the northeast, an insurgent fires a rocket-propelled grenade that slams a wall along the narrow mouth of a sand-bagged gun pit. Shards of hot metal penetrate the opening, hitting Corporal Jonathan Wilson. Blood pours down his neck. "Corpsman up, corpsman up," he cries—asking for a medic to head to the roof. He runs downstairs and collapses into the arms of a sergeant.

Meanwhile, shrapnel has shredded the left thumb of Lance Corporal Adam Sardinas. But he keeps his finger on the trigger of a grenade launcher, and it's not until another Marine arrives to relieve him that he finally turns for the slit doorway. "Let me get outta here," he says. "I'm hit pretty bad." But the battle goes on: below the Marines' outpost, al-Qaeda fighters toting AK-47s dart in and out of view. As blood from Sardinas and Wilson pools at his feet, Sergeant William Morrow grips the grenade launcher. A fellow Marine spots an insurgent in the open. "Waste his ass," Tasayco urges as they open fire on the enemy below.

Despite heavy losses among the insurgents—112 were killed in one week in April—they have proved resistant to the U.S.'s on-

slaughts. Intelligence officials increasingly refer to them as a "legitimate local resistance," but it's al-Qaeda that drives them. Long ago, al-Zarqawi's network settled in Ramadi and, in essence, hijacked the homegrown fight. Although Iraqi groups have bucked al-Zarqawi's authority periodically—most notably in last year's referendum and December election, when they opted to vote, forcing him to stand idly by—al-Qaeda maintains its grip. U.S. efforts to woo Iraqi

in a nearby window, Buck rises to check it out. An insurgent sniper fires at his head, cracking a round into the lip of the cement wall in front of him. "I should be dead right now," Buck says to Tasayco with a laugh.

It's not long before another round flies over their heads, this time from a little farther to the east. The sniper is moving, hunting them. Minutes pass with no more firing. But Tasayco is uneasy. The order comes over the radio to move back to base. "Be careful, we're gonna

Commanders won't ask for more troops out of fear of exposing problems no one wants to acknowledge

groups were beginning to pay dividends, as the city's tribal and insurgent leaders gave their approval for young Sunnis to join the new police force. Recruitment mostly ran at about 40 a month, though in January, 1,000 showed up to join. But al-Qaeda responded by sending a chest-vest suicide bomber into the queue of applicants, killing about 40 Iraqis, wounding 80, and killing two Americans. When the recruits returned days later, al-Zarqawi followed up with a wave of seven assassinations of tribal sheiks. "That hurt us a lot," says Gronski.

Given the ability of al-Zarqawi's men to melt into the city, Kilo Company has few options but to search for the insurgents on block-by-block foot patrols through the worst areas. It's perilous work. On one morning this month, Tasayco and Corporal Nathan Buck take their squad out to commander a small shopping complex, which will give cover for the rest of the platoon to push east. On the roof, Buck, his helmet emblazoned with the words DEATH DEALERS in thick letters, warns his Marines to stay alert. When Tasayco sees movement

get hit," a Marine says as the men drop to the pavement. It's only 150 yards back to the Government Center, but every inch is hard won. Lance Corporal Phillip Tussey pauses on the edge of a small alley. With another Marine covering him, he makes a dash to cross the five yards of open ground. He doesn't get more than a couple of steps when a shot rings out. He's cut down mid-stride, hit in the thigh. The men around him open fire. Within seconds, insurgents start shooting from the opposite direction. A Marine tries to drag Tussey by a leg toward a humvee but gets stranded out in the open. Tasayco bolts forward and grabs the wounded man by the arm. Someone else joins him. Still firing, they shove him into the vehicle. Tasayco takes cover and looks for the shooter. "Where the hell is this guy at?" he hollers. No one answers. "C'mon, everybody, let's go. Pick it up. Get the f--- out of here, man," Tasayco shouts. All his men can do is run.

So why does Ramadi remain beyond the U.S.'s control? Part of the problem, many officers say, is that the troops' authority to act is

constrained by politics. Soldiers cannot lock up suspected insurgents without first getting an arrest warrant and a sworn statement from two witnesses. And those who are convicted often receive jail sentences that are shorter than a grunt's tour of Iraq. "We keep seeing guys we arrested coming back out, and things get worse again," says an intelligence officer.

The bigger problem, though, is one that few in the military command want to hear: there aren't enough troops to do the job. "There's a realization, as every military commander knows, that you cannot be strong everywhere," says Gronski of Ramadi. "In the outlying areas, we think in terms of an economy of force where we are willing to accept risk by not placing as many troops." But while Gronski says his fighting strength is "appropriate," other commanders bristle at the limitations. "I can't believe it each time the Secretary of Defense talks about reducing force," says a senior U.S. officer. War planners in Iraq say just getting a handle on Ramadi demands three times as many soldiers as are there now. Several U.S. commanders say they won't ask superiors for more troops or plan large-scale operations because doing so would expose problems in the U.S.'s strategy that no one wants to acknowledge. "It's what I call the Big Lie," a high-ranking U.S. commander told TIME.

To be fair, gains are being made in Ramadi with the Iraqi army, the police and the young provincial government. A brigade intelligence officer says that "we are not getting excited because this is a long process—though we are winning. The tide is turning." But for those in the midst of the battle, that can sometimes be hard to see. "No matter what they say about the rest of the country, it ain't like this place," says a battalion officer in the thick of the fight. "It's the worst place in the world." ■

Franklin Foer

Homage to Catalonia

When Europe's top teams clashed, an American fan confronted a painful choice

IN EUROPE AND LATIN AMERICA, YOUR FATE AS A SOCCER FAN IS predetermined. Your father's team tends to become your team, end of story. We Americans are blissfully liberated from the weight of such history. When we become passionate about international football, we have the luxury of choosing our allegiances, of falling in love with whichever club suits us best. This freedom means that you will never tether yourself to an eternally hopeless bottom-dwelling club—unless that's your masochistic bent. You can pick a club that squares with your identity—be it gritty and hardworking, or champagne flash.

This was, indeed, a beautiful freedom—until this month. I had adopted two European clubs as my own, watched their games every weekend, wasted work hours reading blogs about them, emotionally invested myself in their travails. But last week my two beloved teams, Barcelona and Arsenal, played each other in the final of the UEFA Champions League in Paris. What glory! What pain! This was the sporting equivalent of those thought experiments about desert-island cannibalism. Which of my loves would I be forced to eat?

I have, over the years, constructed a theory that linked Arsenal and Barcelona in an alliance of virtue. Like the cartoon superheroes that reside together in the Hall of Justice, Arsenal and Barcelona had, in my mind, joined to battle the game's bad guys—namely, Chelsea and Real Madrid, the Yankees of European football.

My teams share the same essential strengths. They eschew boring defensive security for the pleasures of relentless attack. Both exude an irresistible cosmopolitanism. Or rather, Barcelona, founded by a Swiss man, has always exuded cosmopolitanism, and Arsenal learned to do so under the stewardship of Arsène Wenger, its urbane French manager. Both combine their exciting international style with a heavy dose of localism. Arsenal coupled the Frenchman Thierry Henry and Dutch genius Dennis Bergkamp with an English-dominated back line. Barcelona fields true Catalan heroes such as Carles Puyol.

I adore Arsenal too much to concoct reasons for turning against it. But Barça, as the team is known, is nearer and dear-

er to my heart, ever so slightly. My love for the team sprang from my love of the city. A cousin of mine had fought for the republic in the Spanish Civil War. Why would a Polish Jew, who had never before set foot in Spain, journey across Europe to take up arms with the Catalans? As a boy, I began reading about Barcelona's resistance to Franco and developed a romance with the city. During my teens, I finally made a pilgrimage to Catalonia. It was the week before the New Year, and Barça had no matches scheduled. But to celebrate the holiday season, the club had opened the doors of its stadium, the Nou Camp, to the public, gratis. I sat in a line in the parking lot with young kids, eager to catch a glimpse of the pitch, and old men, eager to visit the trophy case—and I converted.

While, over the years, my view of the Spanish Civil War has grown more nuanced, my view of Barça has grown ever more romantic. During the era of the Franco dictatorship, Barça was the lone place where the Catalans could shout in their own language and denounce the authoritarian regime. No government would dare challenge 100,000 men in the throes of fandom. Franco understood that the Catalan people needed a place to vent their frustration, and Barça provided just that.

No soccer team is going to be a perfect reflection of your politics—and it may even be perverse

to think of the game that way. But Barça represents a liberal nationalist spirit that makes for a powerful reprimand to both ethnic chauvinism and facile criticisms of the nation-state. Barça is the ultimate symbol of the Catalan people—one of their most glorious achievements, a monument to their language, history and struggle. But, at the same, it is a bastion of pluralism. Its anthem explicitly welcomes immigrants, and over time it has served as a powerful instrument for assimilating newcomers into Catalan society.

So when Barcelona and Arsenal finally met last week, I had to make my choice. For a week leading up to the game, I dressed my 14-month-old baby in her Barça tracksuit, earning her approving cheers from my Latino neighbors in Washington as she waddled down the street. (O.K., some Americans do inherit their fandom.) I nodded, proudly and smugly. But there was no way for me to fully enjoy this game, to root against the Arsenal players I love. Even though Barça won, 2-1, I fear that a part of me lost.



GOLDEN MOMENT Barcelona defender Juliano Belletti scores the game-winning goal against Arsenal last week

Franklin Foer is editor of the *New Republic* and author of *How Soccer Explains the World: An Unlikely Theory of Globalization*

Outsourcing Your Heart

Elective surgery in India? Medical tourism is booming, and U.S. companies trying to contain health-care costs are starting to take notice

By UNMESH KHER

WHIPLASH WAS JUST THE FIRST AGONY THAT KEVIN MILLER, 45, suffered in a car accident last July. The second was sticker shock. The self-employed and uninsured chiropractor from Eunice, La., learned that it would cost \$90,000 to get the herniated disk in his neck repaired. So, over the objections of his doctors, he turned to the Internet and made an ap-

pointment with Bumrungrad Hospital in Bangkok, the marble-floored mecca of the medical trade that—with its liveried bellhops, fountains and restaurants—resembles a grand hotel more than a clinic. There a U.S.-trained surgeon fixed Miller's injured disk for less than \$10,000. "I wouldn't hesitate to come back for another procedure," says Miller, who was recovering last week at the Westin Grande in Bangkok.

With this surgical sojourn, his first trip outside the U.S., Miller joined the swelling ranks of medical tourists. As word has spread about the high-quality care and cut-rate surgery available in such countries as India, Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia, a growing stream of uninsured and underinsured Americans are boarding planes not for the typical face-lift or tummy tuck but for discount hip replacements and sophisticated heart surgeries. Bumrun-

grad alone, according to CEO Curtis Schroeder, saw its stream of American patients climb to 55,000 last year, a 30% rise. Three-quarters of them flew in from the U.S.; 83% came for noncosmetic treatments. Meanwhile, India's trade in international patients is increasing at the same rate.

That's still a trickle compared with the millions of surgeries performed each year in the \$2 trillion U.S. health-care system. But a significant shift is under way. It's one that could put greater competitive pressure on U.S. hospitals as

some of their most lucrative patients are siphoned off.

Elective surgeries are key money-makers for hospitals, and even a small drop-off can cut deep into their profits.

What may accelerate the trend is that some pioneering U.S. corporations, swamped by rising health-care costs, are taking a serious look at medical outsourcing. Blue Ridge Paper Products of Canton, N.C., a manufacturing company, may soon offer employees outsourcing as a health-care option. The carrot? The patient would get to

pocket some of the firm's substantial savings.

The calculus behind this interest isn't complicated. Many major employers in the U.S. are self-insured, which means they pick up the tab for much of their employees' medical care. That's why three major corporations that collectively cover 240,000 lives asked Dr. Arnold Milstein, national healthcare "thought leader" at the consultancy Mercer Health & Benefits, to assess the best places to outsource elective surgeries. Procedures in Thailand and Malaysia, he found, cost only 20% to 25% as much as comparable ones in the U.S.; top-notch Indian hospitals sell such services at an even steeper discount.

The bottom line: If more private payers sent patients abroad for uncomplicated elective surgeries, the savings could be enormous. "This has the potential of doing to the U.S. health-care system what the Japanese auto industry did to American car-makers," says Princeton University health-care economist Uwe Reinhardt.

U.S. hospitals could certainly do with a little global competition. For years, their share of the national health-care bill has

grown at a rate far faster than inflation, and today they gobble up a third of all medical expenditures. At current rates, the U.S. will be spending \$1 of every \$5 of its GDP on health care by 2015, yet more than 1 in 4 workers will be uninsured. The ingrained inefficiency of most hospitals doesn't help. "A lot of them still don't know how to schedule their operating rooms efficiently," says Reinhardt. "They've never had to. They always get paid, no matter how sloppy they are."

That sloppiness, among other things, widens the price gap with foreign hospitals that entrepreneurs are exploiting. United Group Programs (UGP) of Boca Raton, Fla., a third-party administrator that sells a low-premium, bare-bones form of coverage called a mini-medical plan, this month began promoting Bumrungrad Hospital as a preferred provider to its customers. Employees of self-insured businesses who use the more conventional plans designed by UGP will also have access to the Thai hospital. This means that UGP offers the option of partly or fully covered medical tourism to some 100,000 people, including those who could use it most.

Mini-med plans are increasingly popular with contract and hourly workers, who are more likely than most other

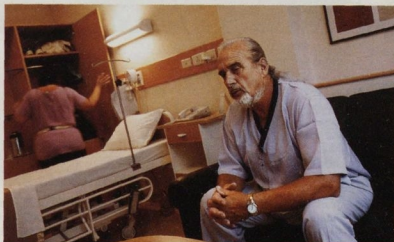
WAYNE STEINARD'S HEART WAS BROKEN ...



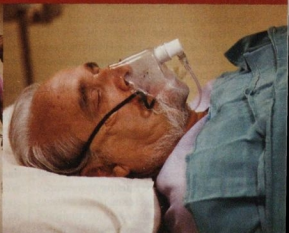
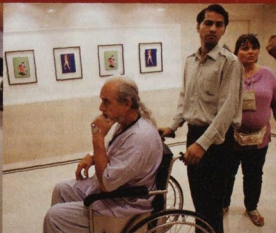
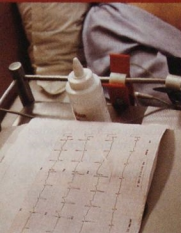
With no health insurance and lacking \$60,000 for a badly needed operation, Steindard, a 59-year-old Floridian, hopped onto the Internet and then onto a plane to India ...



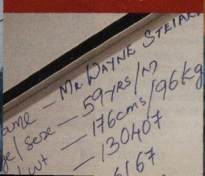
THE HOSPITAL: Steinard and his daughter Beth Keigans, right, arrive at the plush Max Devi Heart & Vascular Institute, left, which stands out amid squalor



THE WAIT: Keigans settles her dad in, above, and leaves money with security. Steinard goes to meet his doctor, below, then has an angiogram



THE OPERATION: Steinard planned on angioplasty but needs heart bypass surgery, left, which is successful. Total cost: \$9,400



CUTTING-EDGE VACATIONS

In the U.S. insurers negotiate discounts, but the uninsured pay retail rates for medical procedures. Here's how the prices of one surgical tourism agency compare. Its packages include airfare and hospital and hotel rooms, but costs can climb if there are complications.



Procedure	U.S. Insurer's cost	U.S. Retail cost	India	Thailand	Singapore
Angioplasty	\$25,704 to \$37,128	\$57,262 to \$82,711	\$11,000	\$13,000	\$13,000
Gastric bypass	\$27,717 to \$40,035	\$47,988 to \$69,316	\$11,000	\$15,000	\$15,000
Heart bypass	\$54,741 to \$79,071	\$122,424 to \$176,835	\$10,000	\$12,000	\$20,000
Heart-valve replacement (single)	\$71,401 to \$103,136	\$159,326 to \$230,138	\$9,500	\$10,500	\$13,000
Hip replacement	\$18,281 to \$26,407	\$43,780 to \$63,238	\$9,000	\$12,000	\$12,000
Hysterectomy	\$9,591 to \$13,854	\$20,416 to \$29,489	\$2,900	\$4,500	—
Knee replacement	\$17,627 to \$25,462	\$40,640 to \$58,702	\$8,500	\$10,000	\$13,000
Mastectomy	\$9,774 to \$14,118	\$23,709 to \$34,246	\$7,500	\$9,000	\$12,400
Spinal fusion	\$25,302 to \$36,547	\$62,778 to \$90,679	\$5,500	\$7,000	\$9,000

Sources: Subimo (U.S. rates, including at least one day of hospitalization); PlanetHospital (international rates)

workers to be uninsured. But these plans are controversial because the buyers often think they cover more than they actually do. UGP's plans at best cap reimbursement for surgery at \$3,000 and hospital stays at \$1,000 a day. That would barely cover an afternoon in a U.S. hospital. But in Thailand, says Jonathan Edelheit, UGP's vice president of sales and marketing, a heart bypass that would cost its U.S. customers \$56,000 could be had for \$8,000.

Companies with traditional plans are also taking the initiative. Blue Ridge Paper, which makes the DairyPak brand of packaging, was carved out of the forest-products firm Champion International when its employees bought a few factories that were scheduled to close. But health-care costs are hurting the company. So a Blue Ridge team plans to visit hospitals in India to assess their quality of care. If it gives the green light, Blue Ridge will begin promoting the option to its 2,000 workers.

Employees who opt for India would get to take along a family member, says Darrell Douglas, vice president of human resources, and the whole experience, including a recuperative stay at a hotel, would be covered. IndUSHealth, a medical tourism start-up in Raleigh, N.C., will make all arrangements and coordinate care between U.S. and Indian providers. The sweetener: the company will share with these intrepid employees up to 25% of savings garnered from the outsourcing.

Get a new hip—and a rebate. Sounds like a bargain, but would people actually travel 10,000 miles for medical care just to make a few bucks? You bet. Polls commissioned by Milstein suggest that few consumers would opt for surgery abroad for incentives below \$1,000. But raise the ante above \$1,000, and the equation changes. Among people who have sick family members, about 45% of the underinsured or uninsured declare they would get on the plane; even 19% of those who have insurance say they're game. Above \$5,000, the percentage of takers climbs to 61% and 40%, respectively.

State governments, which tend to offer generous health-care benefits, may find those numbers appealing. A bill in the West Virginia legislature sponsored by delegate Ray Canterbury outlines incentives for the public employee health-insurance program that are similar to Blue Ridge's. Hospital administrators attending the legislative session when the bill came up for a hearing in February nearly gaged, says Canterbury: "They were not happy. But I didn't expect them to be. The point is to make them face competition."

Is the quality of care in foreign hospitals high enough? To cater to an international clientele, many private hospitals abroad are applying for accreditation (many of them successfully) from the Joint Commission International, the global arm of the institution that accredits most U.S. hospitals. Many of the tourist hospitals team with surgeons who have trained in the U.S. or Britain, which is a great comfort to American patients (the irony is that 25% of physicians in the U.S. got their M.D.s abroad). Escorts Heart Institute and Research Center in Delhi, for instance, was founded by an authority on robotic cardiac surgery, Dr. Naresh Trehan, formerly of New York University.

Wayne Steinar, 59, a general contrac-



LOOKING ABROAD: Blue Ridge Paper's benefits director Bonnie Blackley, left, with HR chief Darrell Douglas

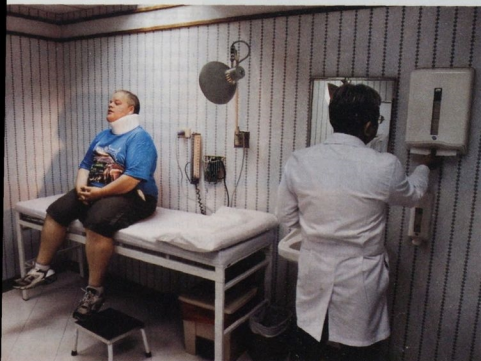


PHOTO: JEFFREY M. HARRIS

tor from Winter Haven, Fla., is one of those U.S. patients "who fall through the cracks" of the health-care system, as he says. Steinfeld landed in New Delhi last week with his daughter Beth Keigans to get a clogged artery cleared and a stent installed. Steinfeld, too rich for Medicaid and too poor for insurance, certainly didn't have the \$60,000 he would have had to pay back home. So he contacted PlanetHospital, a Malibu, Calif., medical-tourism agency, and learned he could get it done for about a tenth as much at Max Healthcare's Devki Devi Heart & Vascular Institute.

Things have not gone as Steinfeld expected. When surgeon Pradeep Chandra scanned Steinfeld's angiogram last week, he found the artery 90% blocked. "A stent is out of the question," he told Keigans. "Your father is going to need a double bypass, and he needs it immediately." The blood drained from Keigans' face. While she loved their plush hospital suite and the staff had been superb, this was all happening too far from home. Steinfeld, though, was blunt about his choices. It's either this, he said, or a fatal heart attack back home. The surgery last week was successful; the hospital's bill: \$6,650.

"I'm not sure I'd ever want to come back to Delhi," says Keigans, "but I'll be telling everyone I know to come here if they need surgery. It's not just the price. They've made everything so easy for us."

RECOVERING: Kevin Miller, 45, an uninsured chiropractor, at a Bangkok hospital; a U.S.-trained surgeon fixed his herniated disk for less than \$10,000

Yet India is a developing country, and this can shake the confidence of even the most cavalier patient. First-class hotels are in short supply. Beyond that, the country's crumbling infrastructure and shocking income disparities—children pick through the garbage outside Steinfeld's hospital—make medical tourism seem a tad too adventurous for many. And for the litigious minded, good luck. The country's malpractice laws limit damage awards, one of many reasons that health care in India is cheaper.

But people don't have to be in Steinfeld's—or Miller's—straits before they cross borders for care. Retirees, especially the snowbirds who winter in South Texas and Arizona, have turned Mexican towns like Nuevo Progreso (pop. 9,125; dentists, 70), in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, and Los Algodones (pop. 15,000; doctors and dentists, 250), near Yuma, Ariz., into dusty dental centers. Los Algodones might make in as much as \$150 million during the winter season. People from Minnesota and California arrive in chartered planes to get their teeth fixed in these dental oases. Two California insurers, Health Net and Blue Shield, for the past few years have marketed popular health-insurance plans, aimed at Latinos, that charge lower premiums and cover treatment on both sides of the border.

Mexico's medical industry is just be-

ginning to bubble; India's, like its other outsourcing segments, is booming. Apollo Hospitals, one of the largest private chains in the world with 46 hospitals in three countries, and Wockhardt Hospitals Group, which has eight hospitals in India, are working through agencies like IndUShealth, PlanetHospital and the Medical Tourist Co. in Britain to build business across the West.

Trehan plans to launch next year, in partnership with GE, the first installment of a vast, \$250 million specialty Escorts hospital complex near New Delhi that will feature luxury suites, a hotel and swank restaurants for patients and their families. "We will be the Mayo Clinic of the East," he says. Max Healthcare is also planning a specialty complex in New Delhi (fields: neurologic, orthopedic, ob-gyn and pediatric).

A corresponding boom is taking place among Western agencies that funnel patients to Asia. Eight have popped up in Canada, where national health care can mean a yearlong wait for elective surgery. In the U.S. several firms are aiming at the roughly 61 million people who are uninsured or underinsured. PlanetHospital's founder, "Rudy" Rupak Acharya, says his agency, which in the past seven months has sent some 200 patients abroad, got 11,000 inquiries in March alone. He has just retained Mercer to help him develop an insurance plan for the uninsured that will combine primary and emergency care in the U.S. with surgery abroad.

Patrick Marsek, managing director of the agency MedRetreat, says his company sent 200 people abroad last year and is already processing 320 this year. He is demanding a deposit of \$195 from customers because people posing as patients have been looking for information to start up their own agencies.

Will U.S. insurers join the party? Mohit Ghose of the trade group America's Health Insurance Plans says many have taken note of medical outsourcing but are scared off by the regulatory and legal uncertainties. Aaditya Mattoo, a World Bank economist who has published a study on the potential of medical outsourcing, suspects that pure institutional inertia has something to do with the lack of interest.

Yet as the medical-cost crisis deepens, the corporations who pay insurers are likely to find the lure of outsourcing as irresistible in health care as it is in software. —*With reporting by Aryn Baker/New Delhi, Simon Montlake/Bangkok, Hilary Hylton/Austin, Chris Daniels/Toronto and Jenn Holmes/London*

Death by Alligator

Floridians are in a panic over a sudden killing spree. Here's why the gators are attacking

By MICHAEL D. LEMONICK

ANNMARIE CAMPBELL LIVED IN TENNESSEE, but she grew up in central Florida, and she had vacationed before in the rustic two-bedroom cabin on a creek in Florida's Ocala National Forest. Two weeks ago, she was there again with a few members of her extended family. That Sunday the aspiring artist, 23, slipped into the water to snorkel her way back to the cabin. A few minutes later, her former stepfather's wife Jackie Barrett left the sandbar where they had been sunning themselves and followed Campbell. The young woman was nowhere to be found. Barrett grabbed a kayak and paddled downstream in search of her. No luck. So Barrett headed back toward the cabin—to find her husband Mark and a family friend frantically gouging at the eyes of an 11½-ft. alligator and prying at its jaws, firmly clamped on Campbell's upper body. By the time the creature finally let go, it was too late.

Campbell was dead, with massive head trauma and lungs filled with water.

The incident would have been shocking by itself. But it was not the only one.

The Florida Fish and

THAT'S NO SMILE

The reptiles, though hard to aggravate, can kill with a single bite

Wildlife Conservation Commission records an average of about seven alligator attacks every year, yet they are rarely fatal: since 1948, only 17 humans had been confirmed killed by the huge reptiles. But in the five days leading up to Campbell's death, two other women had been partly eaten by alligators. Three deadly assaults in the space of a week seemed like too much of a coincidence. Floridians, who tend to be casual about their state reptile, were suddenly hypervigilant to a danger that seemed to be lurking in every body of freshwater bigger than a bathtub. Calls to hotlines skyrocketed, and all over the state people were asking themselves what could possibly be going on.

The circumstances of each death offered no obvious clues. They happened in different parts of the state: Yovy Suarez Jimenez, 28, was killed in Sunrise, just north of Miami, and Judy Cooper, 43, was found 20 miles north of St. Petersburg. Although nobody witnessed either attack, authorities believe that Jimenez was sitting at the edge of a canal, dangling her feet in the water, when she was seized by an alligator and dragged in. And there is no reason to believe that Cooper was swimming.

In short, the unusual spate of fatal attacks may have been a ghastly coincidence—but that doesn't mean they were entirely random. According to wildlife experts, several factors may have recently upped the odds of alligator aggression. For one thing, this is the time of year when the reptiles emerge from cold-weather quiescence and enter the mating season. That makes them more territorial and more aggressive than normal. Beyond



HUNTING A KILLER
Seasoned trappers look for the animal that got snorkeler Campbell, left

that, the state has been experiencing an extended drought over the past several years, shrinking the animals' natural habitat and forcing them to forage in areas where humans have created ponds, canals and swimming pools.

There are also more alligators around today than ever because of the reptile's 20-year stint on the federal endangered-species list. Back in 1967, when it was formally listed, trapping for meat and hides had reduced the alligator population in Florida to no more than 300,000. Now there are 1 million to 2 million. At the same time, the state's human population has exploded. As a result, development is pushing into wetlands that were once pure, alligator-friendly wilderness, and agriculture is draining huge swaths of alligator habitat. Everglades National Park is just one-seventh the size of the historic Everglades swampland, forcing the animals to share territory that humans consider their own.

It's a familiar story. In the American West, mountain lions are getting squeezed, and lethal attacks by the big cats have become more frequent. In the Northeast, it is black bears, foraging in suburban backyards. In Florida, it's alligators. And unlike cougars and bears, which are rarely spot-

ted, alligators are everywhere and are almost always docile. Along a path just inside Everglades park's Shark Valley entrance, for example, alligators loll along the bank of the adjacent canal, as uninterested in the people as they are in the bugs that swirl overhead. Yet park employees have seen tourists run over alligators with bikes and wheelchairs, throw rocks at them and stab them with sticks. People even put kids on the backs of the creatures for a gator photo op. "The alligator isn't the problem. It's humans," says park naturalist Maria Thomson. "We're pushing them to the limit."

And every so often, they push back. Whenever an alligator kills a human, the state sends out trappers to catch and kill it. The animals responsible for the three recent attacks have all been trapped. Parts of Jimenez were found in the belly of a 9½-ft. alligator. Cooper's arm and hand were recovered from an 8½-footer, and Campbell's killer was identified by scratches around its eye. But it's not as if those particular alligators were more dangerous than most, and destroying them won't prevent future attacks. Officials say the best ways to avoid becoming dinner for an alligator are not to feed the animals, which can lead them to lose their natural wariness; to stay away from the water's edge at dusk and dawn, when the creatures tend to hunt; and to be generally wary in and around the water. "A little gator common sense," says state-certified trapper Todd Hardwick, "takes you a long way."

Even so, people are still going to run afoul of alligators. And while three deaths in a week establish a benchmark of horror that probably won't be repeated soon, encounters between alligators and people are bound to increase. "We're putting our lives on the line," says Hardwick, "so you can have a safe backyard." —Reported by Kathie Klarreich/Everglades National Park

Alligators can stay underwater in cold weather up to 24 hours without breathing

If necessary, an alligator can go without eating as long as an entire year

Although most agile in water, an alligator can run on land in short bursts up to 30 m.p.h.

What's the difference between crocodiles and alligators?

Crocs usually have narrower snouts and tend to be more aggressive; gators are vastly more common in the U.S.



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imagination at work

Cool Tools For the Third World

From Internet antennas bolted to trees to pedal-powered laptops, they are bringing 21st century advances to those who need them most

**BOB MARSH,
MARK SUMMER
and KRISTIN
PETERSON**

Life in four African villages was transformed after these San Franciscans installed a wi-fi system. "The farmers learned on the Internet how to prevent diseases, control pests and increase plantain production," says Summer

(Open gatefold to continue)

(Continued from previous page)

VILLAGEWIDE WI-FI

WIRELESS
INTERNET
IN AFRICA

TO REACH THE VILLAGE OF Nyarukamba in western Uganda, visitors have to clamber up a thin, almost vertical dirt track. It's not the kind of place you would expect to find subsistence farmers surfing the Web with wi-fi computers or making VOIP (voice over Internet protocol) phone calls. But that's exactly what the village's 800 or so inhabitants have been doing—thanks to a wireless, solar-powered communications system installed in the Ruwenzori mountains by Inveneo, a San Francisco nonprofit.

Inveneo was launched in 2004 by three Silicon Valley veterans—Mark Summer, 36; Kristin Peterson, 45; and Bob Marsh, 59—who share a passion for high tech and an interest in the developing world. They had done enough volunteer work overseas to see how wireless communications might improve and save lives—through phone calls to health clinics, fast reporting of natural disasters, support for trading co-ops and better educational opportunities.

So they designed a solar-powered Internet network that is inexpensive, easy to install and nearly maintenance free. At its heart is a regional hub from which wireless relay stations—some bolted to trees—fan out for up to four miles and connect a network of PCs. Total cost, including solar panels and relay stations: \$1,995.

One year later, Nyarukamba is already reaping the benefits. Village income is rising, thanks to improved access to market prices for crops and co-ops formed with other villages. Buying power has increased, health outcomes are improving, and more people are learning to read.

Next month Inveneo will deploy systems to schools and colleges in Uganda, and Ghana and hopes to expand over the next year to Swaziland, Senegal and the Philippines. And just in case the sun doesn't shine, Inveneo has worked out how to power up the system with a retrofitted bicycle. —By Amanda Bower

DAVID LAINE BOON—THINK PICTURES FOR TIME

A Moneymaking Water Pump

NICK MOON

A former journeyman carpenter who had clients all over the world, he helps run KickStart from Kenya, where he has lived since 1982

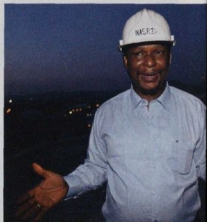
ORBITING OVER NIGERIA

THE
FRONTIER
OF SPACE

What does launching satellites have to do with lifting Africans out of poverty? Just ask Robert Boroffice. He's the head of the space agency of Nigeria—yes, Nigeria—and he is convinced that space programs can succeed where Earth-bound projects have failed. Though blessed with vast oil reserves, Africa's most populous nation has been crippled by years of military rule and mismanagement.

According to the World Bank, 70% of Nigerians live on less than \$1 a day.

But three years ago Nigeria became only the second country in sub-Saharan Africa (after South Africa) to launch its own satellite. NigeriaSat-1 took off from Russia but is controlled by Nigerian scientists and engineers from a ground station in Abuja. The satellite, which was built in Britain, is





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imagination at work



**TOOLS FOR
POOR
FARMERS**

TO MARTIN FISHER, 48, and Nick Moon, 51, a simple pump could be the solution to poverty for millions of Africans. They're the co-founders of KickStart, a San Francisco-based nonprofit that encourages rural entrepreneurship by providing tools that Africa's poor can afford.

Since the group was founded in Nairobi in 1991 under the name ApproTEC, it has developed a machine to make building blocks, a press that extracts cooking oil from seeds, a hay baler and a series of hand-operated micro-irrigation pumps. Their latest, the Money-Maker Hip Pump, retails in Africa for \$34.

For someone like Felix Mururi, a Kenyan in his early 30s, the hip pump made small-scale farming more profitable than working in a city. Recovering his investment within three months (the goal for every

KickStart product), he felt confident enough to rent more land. But Fisher and Moon are doing more than selling a pump. They're trying to market a new model of development. Their aim, says Fisher, is "to create dignity rather than dependency and to leave in place a sustainable and dynamic private sector."

Moon says KickStart operates on a simple maxim: "The greatest good to the largest number in the shortest time at the least cost." It seems to be working. The company has sold 63,000 pumps in Kenya, Tanzania and Mali and estimates that \$45 million in profits and wages has been generated by new, "kick-started" businesses.

Over the next three years, KickStart plans to expand into three more countries, sell 125,000 more pumps, roll out a "deep-lift irrigation pump" that can pull water from 60 ft. underground and bring 400,000 more people out of poverty.

—By Ross Perlin



MARTIN FISHER
An engineer, he met Moon in Kenya in the '80s

part of a network called the Disaster Monitoring Constellation. Its job includes keeping an orbiting eye on Nigeria's vanishing forest resources and often vandalized oil pipelines. It also watches for impending disasters such as fires and floods and shares the information with a consortium that includes Algeria, China, Thailand, Turkey, Vietnam and Britain.

That's only the start of Boroffice's ambitious plans. A communications satellite designed to give even remote villagers access to the Internet is scheduled to be launched next year, and a second observation satellite is planned for 2009. To make the space program self-sustaining, Nigeria wants to sell excess bandwidth to other nations; a United Arab Emirates-based company reportedly has already signed a \$250 million deal. "I'm very passionate about space technology," says Boroffice, 57, a former biology professor. "I see what it has done in India, and I want to do the same in Nigeria." He is already working on plans for the first all-African satellite, with a launch window around 2025.

**ROBERT
BOROFFICE**

"Africa has a lot of problems and some of them can be solved from space," says the former biology professor

—By Simon Robinson with Gilbert da Costa/Abuja

PIUS UTONI EKPE—AFP FOR TIME

GRAHAM TROTT FOR TIME

MICHAEL COLLOPY

**LIGHTING
OFF THE
GRID**

The New Ele

Sitting in a brightly lit classroom at the Stanford Business School three years ago, Matt Scott got to wondering what it would take to light the rest of the world. Artificial lighting may not seem a necessity like food or shelter, but 1.6 billion people around the globe lack access to electricity and the on-off switches we take for granted. Inspired by the Light Up the World Foundation, which promotes the use of energy-efficient light-emitting diodes (LEDs), Scott, now 31, traveled to India and in 2004 partnered with Amit Chugh to devise a market strategy for replacing the kerosene lamp.

The result is the MightyLight, a waterproof, shockproof, LED lamp that can be used as a flashlight, reading lamp or ceiling fixture. Solar powered, capable of holding an eight-hour charge and designed to last 100,000 hours, the MightyLight is safer and more cost effective than kerosene lamps, which are expensive to maintain and dangerous to use. (Not only

AMIT CHUGH As managing director of Cosmos Ignite, he's on the ground, making it happen

RAKESH SAMRA

MATT SCOTT

This solar-powered light is only one part of Cosmos' innovation. The other is a company designed to serve the needs of people at the bottom of the pyramid



Electric Lamp

do they start a lot of accidental fires but they are also a primary source of indoor air pollution, a major killer in developing countries.)

Scott and Chugh's other innovation is Cosmos Ignite, the company they founded to market MightyLight. Inspired by C.K. Prahalad's *The Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid*, about the collective buying power of people earning a few dollars a day, they believe that capitalism—not charity—is the best way to address the needs of the Third World. So in November they began selling MightyLights for \$45 each. The LED technology is so advanced, says Chugh, that "anyone in New York or Delhi would love one of these." Chugh, 38, hopes to release a \$30 model soon and even cheaper lights thereafter. With help from foundations, Cosmos Ignite has sold and distributed more than 4,000 MightyLights for earthquake relief in Pakistan and to the poor in Afghanistan, Guatemala and Kashmir. In India, fishermen and weavers are already using the lights to extend their work hours. Says Scott: "The exciting thing—more than just the light itself—is the model of using a sustainable approach to effect social change." —By Jeremy Caplan

THE
\$100
LAPTOP

A COMPUTER FOR EVERY CHILD

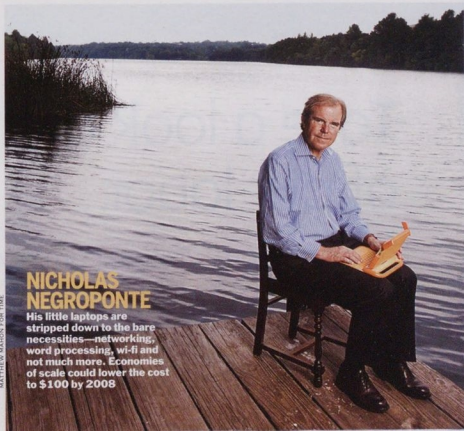
O.K., SO HIS BIG BROTHER JOHN IS DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE and delivers daily briefings to the President. But Nicholas Negroponte, 62, is trying to reach a far more challenging audience: the world's poorest children. The co-founder of M.I.T.'s Media Lab and former *Wired* columnist took a leave from academia last year to build a computer—a laptop so cheap that developing countries could buy them by the millions to help their kids leapfrog into the 21st century.

It's an ambitious project, but the charismatic Negroponte has a persuasive pitch and a knack for fund raising. With the support of the U.N., his so-called \$100 laptop quickly found backing from, among others, Google, Red Hat, Advanced Micro Devices and Nortel. His team is still making prototypes, but a finished motherboard was delivered in April. A wind-up crank has been replaced by a new foot pedal to supply power in areas lacking electricity.

"The actual decision to make millions of laptops will happen sometime in December or January," he says, predicting that finished machines could be ready by next spring. He hopes to start in seven countries—Nigeria, India, China, Thailand, Brazil, Argentina and Egypt—with a combined total of at least 5 million orders. For the first year or so, however, the \$100 laptop will probably cost \$140.

Negroponte has his skeptics (including Bill Gates) but is undismayed. "The cynics can be as cynical as they want," he says. "If this makes the industry address low-power, low-cost laptops that can be used in very remote places, that's perfect."

And has big brother John opened any doors? "Nepotism does help," he says, chuckling, and adds that he has met with the State Department and the U.S. Agency for International Development. "But we're trying to make this less of an American project and more of a global one." —By Jeffrey Ressler



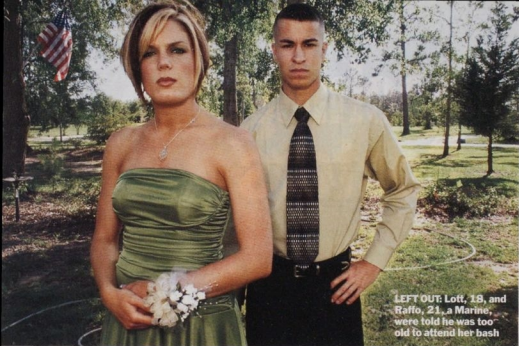
NICHOLAS NEGROPONTE

His little laptops are stripped down to the bare necessities—networking, word processing, wi-fi and not much more. Economies of scale could lower the cost to \$100 by 2008

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LEFT OUT Lott, 18, and Raffo, 21, a Marine, were told he was too old to attend her bash

Barred from the Prom

So you thought finding a date was stressful? New rules are making it tougher to get into the big party

By JENINNE LEE-ST. JOHN

IN PREPARATION FOR HER SENIOR-PROM night, Leah Lott performed the traditional rituals: she got her nails done, she had her sister do her makeup, and she even took a trip to the spray-tanning parlor. Later that evening, she and her boyfriend, Chris Raffo, took pictures at his parents' house. But instead of joining the rest of her classmates at Pearl River Central High School, in Carriere, Miss., for their last big hurrah, Lott and Raffo dined in an Italian restaurant and drove to New Orleans for a quiet evening in the French Quarter. Lott, 18, had desperately wanted to go to her prom, but not without Raffo, 21, a Marine who had secured a leave to escort her. Raffo was unwelcome at the big dance, however, because Lott's school bars guests older than 20. "The principal said they can't make any exceptions," she says.

Setting age limits that label some guests too senior for the prom is only one of the restrictions that school administrators have been imposing on students and their dates this spring. A growing number of schools also screen for alcohol at the door, require teens to sign drug-free pledges, ask parents

to consent to their child's choice of date and in some cases even conduct background checks on outsiders invited to the event. The rules have sparked school-board showdowns across the country. Administrators say they just want to keep kids safe. Graduating 17- and 18-year-olds who view the prom as a rite of passage into adulthood complain that they are being treated like children.

"Principals have to be more concerned with security issues," says David Vodila, president of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, who traces the rise in prom vigilance to Sept. 11 and the 1999 Columbine shootings. Some reasons cut closer to home. During prom season, nearly half of teen car-crash deaths are alcohol related, according to a recent study by Nationwide Insurance and Mothers Against Drunk Driving. And teacher sexual misconduct can also be a problem. A Tennessee high school set an age limit at the prom this year after a former teacher who had gone to prison for having sex with a pupil was rearrested for contacting the boy again. A Texas teacher was fired after asking to take a student to the prom.

Still, sociologists who study teens say the rules are also a by-product of the hyper-

protective parenting characteristic of baby boomers. "There's a disconnect between all this regulating and the dangers kids actually face," says Barbara Risman, head of the sociology department at the University of Illinois at Chicago. She says the strictures have a downside: "Taking away the ability to exercise choices might not allow teens to learn to make decisions and live with the consequences."

High schoolers, predictably, tend to agree with that view. "Give students an opportunity to police themselves," says Nathan Graf, 18, a senior at Cumberland Valley High School in Mechanicsburg, Pa., who got two-thirds of his classmates to sign a petition against a new policy of random

Breathalyzer tests at dances. The school board rejected their pleas before the May 12 prom, but Graf will fight on. "Safety is a big concern," he says, "but at what expense to our constitutional rights?"

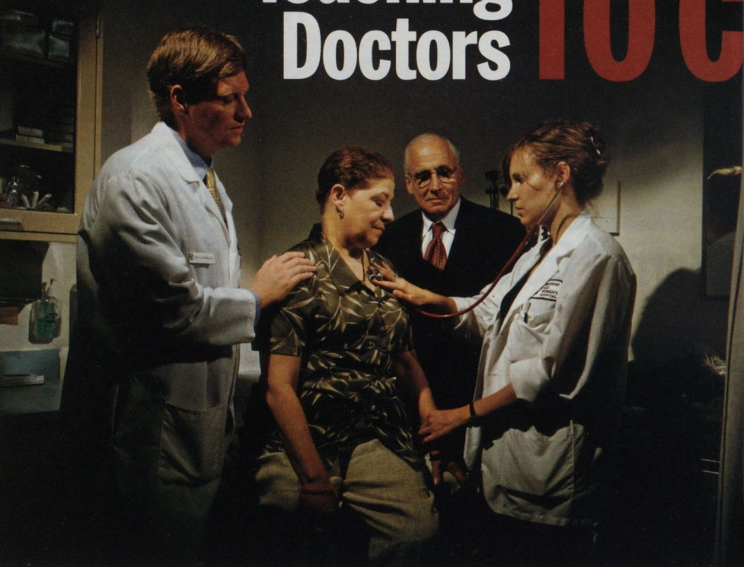
That's the question that six students on Cape Cod, Mass., asked earlier this month when their dates were barred from the prom after criminal background checks turned up past misdemeanors, like underage drinking and marijuana possession. Officials reversed the ruling when the A.G.L.U. challenged the legality of the checks. But some schools nationwide require students to preregister their dates for informal character checks. At Andover High School in Minnesota, guests who come from other schools must be vouched for by their principals, says Andover principal Dan Dehnicke.

The age restriction may be the most controversial, since it's not unusual for an 18-year-old girl to date a guy a few years older. Dehnicke says he consults the parents of any student who wants to bring a date older than 20 to the prom. "If the parents are comfortable with it, I say O.K." Such a policy would have let Lott celebrate her big night with her schoolmates. Lott's and Raffo's parents asked the school board to let their kids attend the dance together. "His intention isn't to drink or bring drugs to the prom," says Nancy Raffo of her son, who is scheduled to be deployed to Iraq in September. The board wouldn't budge, though Chris offered to take a Breathalyzer test at the dance. The couple had a memorable prom night anyway. "It was nice to be alone, just the two of us," says Lott, adding, "I'm kind of glad I didn't go to the prom parties. A lot of people got busted by the police for drinking."

SOME SCHOOLS NATIONWIDE REQUIRE STUDENTS

TO PREREGISTER THEIR DATES FOR INFORMAL CHARACTER CHECKS

Teaching Doctors **TO C**



The problem with most medical students is that they've never been really sick. Now some are learning what it's like to be chronically ill

EMPATHY 101

Third-year med student Brickell, above right, has spent nearly five months shadowing her patient Ocasio, under the supervision of Dr. Herrera, in black suit, and Dr. Alexander

By **NATHAN THORNBURGH** BOSTON

CLAIRE BRICKELL, 25, AN ASPIRING neurologist in her third year at Harvard Medical School, already knows far more about health care than most of us. She can diagnose heart failure from a chest X ray. She can diagram the intricate circuits of the brain. And if she needed to, she could probably pull off a pretty decent tracheotomy. But when it comes to communicating with patients, Brickell has a problem: she's too healthy. Like most of her classmates, she has spent very little time as a patient. She has never had to weigh the advice of a trusted friend against conflicting orders given by a cold and distant doctor. She has

never had to take daily injections for a disease she doesn't understand. She has rarely even gone through the most basic crucible of illness in the U.S., the interminable wait in a doctor's office.

Enter Santa Ocasio, 56, a Dominican immigrant who is fighting a protracted battle with Type 2 diabetes. In a pilot program that is the leading edge of a broad curriculum overhaul at Harvard Medical School, Brickell has been paired with Ocasio for nearly five months. She sees her as a patient every week at the Spanish Clinic of Boston's Brigham and Women's Hospital and tags along on visits to her specialists. In fact, the goal is for Brickell to be there every time Ocasio encounters the healthcare system. It's not just a way to learn

ARE

about treating diabetes; it's a crash course in the myriad frustrations of a patient caught in the maw of modern medicine—confusing prescriptions, language barriers and an endless parade of strangers in white coats.

Why would the U.S.'s top medical school ask its students to spend valuable time trailing a patient instead of a doctor? At Harvard and other medical schools across the country, educators are beginning to realize that empathy is as valuable to a doctor as any clinical skill. Whether it's acknowledging that a patient was inconvenienced by having to wait an hour before being seen or listening when someone explains why he didn't take his meds, doctors who try to understand their patients may be the best antidote for the widespread dissatisfaction with today's health-care system.

So Harvard has built closer partnerships between students and patients into

weeks in intensive care and so on. Students met patients when they were admitted into that section of the hospital, and the relationships ended as soon as the patients were discharged or moved to another ward.

Dr. Erik Alexander, who directs the new program at Brigham and Women's, says the old model prevents students from seeing the larger picture. Every patient is a complex combination of sickness and health across multiple biological systems, and patients are regularly shuttled between various parts of the hospital in the course of their treatment. The best doctors in the future, he says, will make those connections across fields and treat the patient as a whole individual, not a series of symptoms.

Cambridge Hospital, a Harvard-affiliated branch of Cambridge Health Alliance, took the patient-partnering concept even further, including group lunches and, in some cases, home visits. Dr. Barbara Ogur, who co-directs the Cambridge pilot program, says that for too long, medical students in their third year suffered what she calls "ethical erosion," in which the pace and pressure of the hospital floor desensitized students to the physical suffering and minor indignities of being a patient.

For third-year student Rachel Bortnick, 27, a science buff from childhood, one of the lasting lessons is that patients sometimes don't want the help she is being trained to give. One cancer patient, whom

ly ethical medical students will have to work in a health-care system that is driven by the pressure of the bottom line. Marcia Hams, program coordinator with the health-care advocacy group Community Catalyst, says Harvard has the right idea. For students from other Boston-area medical schools, her organization tries to impart a similar lesson with Walk in My Shoes, a program that asks students to simulate patient tasks like signing up for Medicaid or searching for an interpreter in a hospital. But Hams cautions that it will take more than curriculum reform to get patients the care they deserve. "If doctors only get a minute and a half with a patient," she says, "then whatever they learned in med school about patient needs isn't going to matter a lot."

For Dr. Guillermo Herrera, who has been running Brigham and Women's Spanish Clinic since he founded it in 1971, better patient-doctor communication is exactly what his growing Hispanic patient population needs. The close relationship between Ocasio and Brickell has helped Ocasio navigate her way to a more honest dialogue with doctors—and eventually to better health. Ocasio had resisted treating her diabetes for a dangerously long time, for example, and even after she started going to the clinic, she refused to take her medication. Only after spending a few weeks with Brickell did Ocasio open up enough

Doctors aren't supposed to feel sorry for their patients. They're supposed to fix them. And I think this program will help us do that.

the principal clinical experience, a small but important part of its most significant curriculum reform in two decades. The University of Pennsylvania Medical School began a similar program in 1997, and other schools are following suit. As long as medical students are still getting a healthy diet of clinical learning, educators say, there's little downside.

Still, centering clinical learning on patients is a fairly radical concept for a medical-education system that is notoriously resistant to change. Medical schools operate largely on principles established in 1910. For most of the intervening century, the third year of medical school has meant total immersion in a series of clerkships in the major fields—six weeks in cardiology, six

she had followed from initial diagnosis through treatment, decided to quit chemotherapy so that he could leave the hospital, essentially to die.

"It's hard to watch a patient at death's door," says Bortnick. "You want to do something to prevent it. But this patient really wanted peace and quiet, to be somewhere he wouldn't be intruded in on by doctors every hour of the night." Bortnick eventually made peace with her patient's resignation, and after he died earlier this year, she attended his funeral.

It's clear that experiences like that are meaningful to the students, but health-care advocates say patient-centered rhetoric has been around for at least as long as HMOs. The fact is, even the most exquisite-

to say that back in Santo Domingo, her friends had told her that insulin caused blindness and led people to have their limbs amputated. After Brickell heard that, she was able to convince Ocasio that those were symptoms of the disease, not the insulin. For the first time in her life, Ocasio has been taking her insulin regularly, and she's feeling much better.

Brickell says the experience taught her that learning to see the world from the patient's point of view isn't squishy science; it's a way to get the kind of results everyone wants from the medical system. "Doctors aren't supposed to feel sorry for their patients. They're supposed to fix them," says Brickell. "And I think this program will help us do that." ■

SLINGS AND ARROWS: From left: Maguire, Maines and Robison emerged from "the Incident" angry but unbowed



THE FIRST VOLLEY



MARCH 10, 2003

DIXIE CHICKS

At a concert, the Dixie Chicks tell an audience, "Just so you know, we're ashamed the President of the United States is from Texas"

RESPONSE A radio station proclaims Dixie Chicks Destruction Day, their songs are banned on country radio, and death threats are made

Natalie Maines is one of those people born middle finger first.

As a high school senior in Lubbock, Texas, she'd skip a class a day in an attempt to prove that because she never got caught and some Mexican students did, the system was racist. After Maines joined the Dixie Chicks, and the Dixie Chicks became the biggest-selling female

MUSIC

IN THE LINE OF FIRE

THEY'VE TAKEN THEIR HITS, AND NOW THE DIXIE CHICKS HIT BACK WITH WHAT MAY BE THE BEST ADULT POP CD OF THE YEAR. ER, WILL ANYONE BUY IT?

• By Josh Tyrangiel

group in music history—with suspiciously little cash to show for it—she and her bandmates told their record label, Sony, they were declaring themselves free agents. (In the high school that is Nashville, this is way worse than skipping class.) Now that she's truly notorious, having told a London audience in 2003, on the eve of the Iraq war, "Just so you know, we're ashamed the President of the United States is from Texas," Maines has one regret: the apology she offered George W. Bush at

THOSE WHO CAME AFTER

Not every star who used the stage as a political platform got treated like the Dixies



STYLING: JIMMY KAY

OCTOBER 2003

BRUCE SPRINGSTEEN

The longtime antiwar activist calls for the impeachment of President Bush at a New York City concert

RESPONSE Demand by a New York Conservative Party Senate candidate for a Springsteen boycott goes nowhere. His next album goes to No. 1

KEVIN MAZUR—WIREIMAGE



the onset of her infamy. "I apologized for disrespecting the office of the President," says Maines. "But I don't feel that way anymore. I don't feel he is owed any respect whatsoever."

A sizable chunk of their once adoring audience feels the same way about the Dixie Chicks. After Maines' pronouncement, which was vigorously seconded by bandmates Martie Maguire and Emily Robison, the group received death threats and was banned by thousands of country radio stations, many of which still have informal bans in place. The Dixie Chicks have mass appeal—you can't sell 10 million copies of two of your three albums without engaging lots of different people—but country radio is an indispensable part of how they reach people. Programmers say that even now a heartfelt apology could help set things right with listeners, but it's not happening. "If people are going to ask me to apologize based on who I am," says Maines, "I don't know what to do about that. I can't change who I am."

As proof, the first single from the Dixie Chicks' new album, *Taking the Long Way* (out May 23), is called *Not Ready to Make Nice*. It is, as one country radio programmer says, "a four-minute f— you to the format and our listeners. I like the Chicks, and I won't play it." Few other stations are playing *Not Ready to Make Nice*, and while it has done well on iTunes, it's quite possible that in singing about their anger at people who were already livid with them and were once their target audience, the Chicks have written their own ticket to the pop-culture glue factory. "I guess if we really cared, we wouldn't have released that single first," says Maguire. "That was just making people mad. But I don't think it was a mistake."

Whether the Dixie Chicks recover their sales luster or not, the choice of single has turned their album release into a referendum. *Taking the Long Way*'s existence is designed to thumb its nose at country's intolerance for ideological hell raising, and buying it or cursing it reveals something about you and your politics—or at least your ability to put a grudge above your listening pleasure. And however you vote, it's tough to deny that by gambling their careers, three Texas women have the biggest balls in American music.

Over lunch in decidedly uncountry Santa

STAGE SISTERS: The group, at a MusiCares benefit, has a tour planned for summer



THE DIXIE CHICKS ARE THE HIGHEST



GROWING UP DIXIE

The group has changed more than just its sound, as proved by former bandmates and their adventures in platinum and paisley

Above, glammed up on the new CD. From rear right: Robison, left, and Maguire, seated right, with singers Robin Lynn Macy and Laura Lynch in '92; with Maines in '98; as Country Music Award winners in '99



SEPTEMBER 2004

GREEN DAY

Releases an antiwar album *American Idiot*. Lyrics include "Sieg heil to the president gasman" and "Don't want to be an American idiot"

RESPONSE Album goes to No. 1 and receives a Grammy for Best Rock Album. Band receives seven MTV Video Music Awards. No political fallout



OCTOBER 2004

EMINEM

Just before the election, his antiwar song *Mosh* refers to President Bush as "this monster, this coward that we have empowered"

RESPONSE Album sells nearly 5 million copies in 2004. Video is No. 1 on MTV's *Total Request Live* within a day



SELLING FEMALE GROUP IN HISTORY



Monica, Calif., where they have lived part time while recording *Long Way*, the Dixie Chicks—in fancy jeans, tank tops and designer sunglasses—seem less like provocateurs than busy moms (they have seven kids in all, ages 1 to 5) amped up by a little free time. In conversation they are loud and unembarrassable, celebrating their lack of boundaries in that escalating, I-can-be-more-blunt-than-you way unique to sisters (which Maguire and Robison are) and women who have shared a tour-bus bathroom. They eagerly discuss the soullessness of Tom Cruise, the creepiness of Charlie Sheen and the price-fixing practices of hair colorists. But sex is the perennial champ, and they are in a constant state of speculation about which of their kids' nannies is most likely to "get some" on tour this summer. "We're all married," says Maguire, "so it's not like we're going to."

One product of their decade together is that the Chicks are loose with pronouns (they use *I* and *we* interchangeably) and agree on almost everything, although the ways they agree can be revealing. When the conversation turns to childhood pets and I mention a beloved one-eyed dog, they all make empathetic faces, but Maguire, 36, gets teary, Robison, 33, laughs at her sister's sensitivity, and Maines, 31, says she would have poked around the empty socket "just to check it out." On Iraq, Maguire begins, "The night we sent missiles over ..." while Maines prefers, "When we bombed the s____ out of..."

In the days preceding the March 2003 U.S. invasion, the Dixie Chicks were touring Europe. They don't subscribe to *Foreign Affairs*, but they are daily newspaper readers who back up their positions with a solid understanding of current events. It struck them as natural that in front of a largely antiwar crowd in London, Maines would preface *Travelin' Soldier*, an apolitical ballad about a heartsick Vietnam G.I., with a reference to the world outside the theater. As Maines spoke, though, Robison admits, "I got hot from my head to my toes—just kind of this rush of 'Ohhh, s____.' It wasn't that I didn't agree with her 100%; it was just, 'Oh, this is going to stir something up.'"

The celebrity playbook for navigating a scandal is one word long: repent. But apologies are for lapses of character, not revelations

SEPTEMBER 2005

KANYE WEST

During a benefit concert for Katrina victims on NBC, West declares, "George Bush doesn't care about black people!"

RESPONSE First Lady Laura Bush calls West's remarks "disgusting." Album goes to No. 1. He continues as a pitchman for Pepsi



KANYE WEST/REUTERS

MARCH 2006

PEARL JAM

Releases *World Wide Suicide*, a song that accuses the President of "writing checks that others pay"

RESPONSE Antiwar anthem becomes a sensation on rock radio and reaches No. 1 on *Billboard's* modern-rock airplay list



MIKE CAGLIONE/REUTERS

of it, and sensing that they were being asked to apologize for their beliefs as much as their timing, the Chicks decided not to back down. "Natalie knows we could have totally convinced her to apologize," says Maguire. "But the fact is, any one of us could have said what she said." Their demure response to the bans and threats—one of which arrived with the date, time and method of Maines' planned assassination—was to appear nude on the cover of *ENTERTAINMENT WEEKLY* with slurs (SAD-DAM'S ANGELS) scrawled on their naked bodies. That did not placate the offended. More fans and friends were lost. Gradually, though, the need for round-the-clock security faded.

Now when they talk about "the Incident," as they unflinchingly call it, the Dixie Chicks try to write it off as an absurdity. Maines has powerful gusts of indignation and real disdain for a few right-wing websites and talk-show hosts, but what seems to linger most is disappointment in her pre-controversy self. "I think I'd gotten too comfortable living my life," she says. "I didn't know people thought about us a certain way—that we were Republican and pro-war."

With George Bush the official piñata of the music industry (see chart, above) the Dixie Chicks' ordeal should have cooled by now. "We struggle with that all the time," says Maguire. "Are we picking the scab of something that's already healed? Because we don't know what people are thinking." Radio programmers make it their business to know. "They're still through the floor," says Dale Carter, program director at KKKF in Kansas City, Mo. "There's a technology called the Dial where listeners react to songs, and every time we test the Dixie Chicks..." Carter makes a noise like a boulder falling from a high cliff. "It's not the music, because we're playing them the hits they used to love. It's something visceral. I've never seen anything like it."

The unwillingness of audiences to forgive the band is inseparable from politics. Market research indicates the average country listener is white, suburban and leans to the right, and they need not lean too far to file away an insult against a wartime President. Still, as the President's support has eroded and growing numbers of Americans (presumably some country-music fans among them) have come to disapprove of both his

performance and the decision to go to war, shouldn't there be a proportional feeling of forgiveness toward the Dixie Chicks?

Country Music Television (CMT) has conducted numerous focus groups on the band. "And they're all a great study in the American psyche," says Brian Philips, the channel's executive vice president. "What comes up over and over again is, 'It would have been one thing if they'd said it on American soil, but it's the fact that they said it in Europe that really sets me off!'" There's an accusation of cowardice in there—although Maines insists, "I said it there 'cause that's where I was"—but if the way Philips draws out the syllables in *Europe* is to be believed, there's also a more personal grievance, an uneasy cocktail of resentment and abandonment. As Tim McGraw,

“Natalie knows we could have totally convinced her to apologize. But the fact is, any one of us could have said what she said.”

—MARTIE MAGUIRE

one of the few vocal Democrats in country, and the only major artist who would speak on the record about the Dixie Chicks, says, "You've got to remember this is a family skirmish, and it's possible there's more than one thing going on."

Country music has never been particularly classy, which is one of its principal charms. Less charming is its defensiveness about its station. Unlike rock fans, most of whom are attracted to the music's integration of styles, some country fans—particularly those who call up radio stations in a lather—take it upon themselves to patrol a wall of genre purity. Elvis Presley and Johnny Cash got passes because they were sui generis. Not so Buck Owens, who in 1965, after a few experimental dalliances, took out

an advertisement with a career-saving loyalty oath, "Pledge to Country Music," in the *Music City News*, promising, "I Shall Sing No Song That Is Not a Country Song." Even now, acts that other listeners reflexively think of as country, from McGraw to Willie Nelson to Shania Twain, are often disparaged for keeping an eye on the Hot 100, playing noncountry songs or showing a little navel. The message from hard-core listeners is, Stay behind the wall.

Early in their careers, the Dixie Chicks did, and they were beloved for it. Maguire and Robison started the group in their teens (Maguire was then at Southern Methodist University; Robison never finished an application to the Air Force Academy) with two singers in their 30s before eventually replacing them in 1995 with Maines, a Berklee College of Music dropout who, at the time, was attending her third college in three years. After a lot of dues paying, the band took over the country charts. Maines has an immensely powerful voice, but she's also capable of barometric emotional adjustments; she almost never oversings and thus sounds great coming out of stereo speakers. Meanwhile, in a medium that values tradition, Maguire and Robison played the most traditional country instruments, fiddle and banjo, and played them well. It didn't hurt either that all three were lookers.

The Chicks have affection for their early work, and songs like *There's Your Trouble* and *Goodbye Earl* will endure, but Maines describes most of it as "amateurish." They didn't write their hits, and the songs they did write were mostly filler. "I never wrote anything from my point of view," Maines says. "Even if it was something that happened to me, I would write it like it was a character and I was telling someone else's story... That's not very brave."

This is what talented musicians are supposed to do: aspire to get better, braver. But at each step of their evolution, from their feud with Sony (ungrateful!) to the bluegrass album, *Home* (not country enough!), and then, of course, the Incident, the genre's wrath hovered like a jealous boyfriend. "Their old audience feels a little betrayed, a little left behind maybe," says CMT's Philips. That may explain why, as the Chicks and



APRIL 2006

PINK

New album contains a song, *Dear Mr. President*, with lyrics that include, "What do you feel when you look in the mirror? Are you proud?"

REACTION Fans of the song discuss it obsessively on the Web. A 10-year-old in Florida is barred from performing the song at school



APRIL 2006

NEIL YOUNG

Releases an anti-Iraq war album, *Living with War*. Calls for the impeachment of President Bush

REACTION Denunciations from conservatives that Young, a Canadian, has lived in the U.S. for 40 years without becoming a citizen

—By Andrea Sachs

country began their breakup, country fans ran into the arms of brilliant redneck instigator Toby Keith, who displayed a doctored photo of Maines and Saddam Hussein at his concerts.

It also explains why the Dixie Chicks have made such a point of saying good riddance. "I'd rather have a smaller following of really cool people who get it," says Maguire, "who will grow with us as we grow and are fans for life, than people that have us in their five-disc changer with Reba McEntire and Toby Keith. We don't want those kinds of fans. They limit what you can do."

When the group gathered in early 2004 to talk about a new album, none of the three sounded nearly that confident. "You could tell this thing had strengthened them personally but shaken them artistically," says producer Rick Rubin, famous for his work with the Red Hot Chili Peppers and Beastie Boys and on Johnny Cash's haunting *American* series. "What turned me on, though, was that even though people were divided over what they said, people cared what they said, and that's a very strong position for an artist to be in. For the first time the girls, these cute little girls, had a platform."

Rubin took on the project with the hope—he's way too Zen to make demands—that for the first time in their careers the Dixie Chicks would write all their songs, by themselves and about themselves. As writers they admit they're prone to laziness, like people at a gym who need a personal trainer to force them to concentrate. Gary Louris of the Jayhawks, blues artist Keb' Mo' and Dan Wilson of Semisonic were brought in to co-write and supply discipline, and the band hunkered down in Los Angeles, where Rubin lives, to begin the long and unglamorous work of crafting songs.

Most of the material that emerged over nearly two years of writing was about marriage and kids and modern life as the Dixie Chicks and lots of other people live it. Oblique references to the controversy made their way into a few songs, so Wilson suggested they write one that addressed the issue head on. "Natalie said, 'Does that mean we'd have to

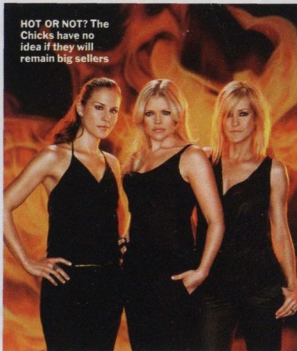
forgive the people that were so evil to us?' And I said, 'Maybe it does,'" Wilson recalls. "And with a little wave of her hand, she said, 'Noooooo.' Then the next morning that phrase 'I'm not ready to make nice' appeared."

The song builds to a massive crescendo under lyrics ("It's too late to make it right/ I probably wouldn't if I could/ 'Cause I'm mad as hell/ Can't bring myself to do what it is you think I should") that are explicitly clear. Those who loathe the Dixie Chicks will never get to the end, while those who love them will listen once, say Yeah! and probably not

and drug references and the advice to *Take It Easy*. Instead the songs aspire to do what the best pop always does, function as a smart expression of its creators' lives while remaining accessible to its listeners'. There are allusions to the recent past—on the jubilant opener *The Long Way Around* ("It's been two long years now/ Since the top of the world came crashing down") and the breakup song *Everybody Knows* ("I swore they'd never see me cry/ You'd never see me cry")—but they're only obvious if you look for them. *Bitter End* is a sing-along about fair-weather friends (the group fell out with a few lefty rockers who, amazingly, felt cheated of the nation's opprobrium) and even *Lullaby* is the rare song about kids well crafted enough that the childless could mistake it for a love song. And as things begin to sag a bit in *Long Way's* final third, the album delivers a knockout, *So Hard*, the first pop song in memory about infertility (Maguire and Robison conceived by in vitro fertilization) and also the catchiest, most complicated love song on the record.

Will anybody buy it? The Dixie Chicks talk about *Long Way* as the end of their commercial salad days, but they're shrewd enough to know that only suckers choose between art and commerce. "I'm not ready to fly coach," jokes Maguire, and indeed *Taking the Long Way* could easily sub as the title for their marketing plan. They'll tour starting in July and flog the record on a few select talk shows. "Natalie's new motto is, 'What would Bruce Springsteen do?'" says Robison, laughing. "Not that we're of that caliber, but 'Would Bruce Springsteen do *The View*?' They're not doing *The View*."

Maines says she's not looking for more battles, but she won't shy away from any either. "Everything was so nice and fine and happy for us for the longest time," she says of their pre-Incident days. "It was awesome to feel those feelings again that I felt in high school: to be angry, to be sure that you're right and that the things you do matter. You don't realize that you're not feeling those feelings until you do. And then you realize how much more interesting life is."



HOT OR NOT? The Chicks have no idea if they will remain big sellers

PHOTOGRAPH BY JILL GREENBERG

need to go back. It works better as a referendum than as a pop song, but as Robison says, "We wrote it for ourselves, for therapy. Whether or not other people think it was important enough to say, we think it was." Says CMT's Phillips: "I hope the audience lets them get this out of their system, because it would be the musical crime of the century if people don't hear this album all the way through."

That's a bit much, but you probably won't hear a better adult pop album this year. Musically, *Taking the Long Way* is full of swaggering country-tinged rock hooks—like a peak Eagles record, except without the misogyny

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The Doctor Is ... Blue

He played the same character for 20 years. Now Kelsey Grammer goes furry, feral and superhuman

By LEV GROSSMAN

MEET KELSEY GRAMMER: NICE GUY, big square face, velvety voice, sandy hair going thin in front. He's tall, over 6 ft., with broad shoulders, but strolling around the lobby of a Manhattan hotel, Grammer, 51, looks almost insubstantial. Or less substantial than the ghost that haunts him.

That ghost is Dr. Frasier Crane, the pompous but charming shrink he played on TV



spectacular (*Down Periscope*) to—well, his *Macbeth* on Broadway closed after 10 performances. So he has buried himself anew, this time in fake ears, fake teeth, six hairpieces and lots and lots of blue makeup. This summer he becomes Beast, a hairy, brainy, inwardly tortured mutant scientist in *X-Men: The Last Stand*. To borrow Beast's signature exclamation: Oh, my stars and garters!

Grammer has always insisted there was more to him than Frasier, and if his personal life is any indication, that pretty much has to be true. He conducts his private affairs like a man competing in a

wild ... expressive Kelsey, let's just say." He chuckles at his inspired euphemism.

That tension is what makes him oddly perfect for his role in *X-Men: The Last Stand*. Beast was once Hank McCoy, scientist, but when an experiment went awry—don't they always?—he transformed into something blue and furry and muscular and bestial. Beast has never got over the loss of his human form. Unlike Storm, say, or even Wolverine, he can never pass for normal.

Part of what's fascinating about the X-Men characters is their wiring. They have power raging around inside them that's just barely held in check. Being a mutant is both a blessing and a curse. Beast is no different: he's a feral scrapper at heart, a big blue gorilla, but he tries to bury it under a sophisticated manner and fancy book learning and well-tailored suits. Casting the former Frasier as Beast was a nervy choice—Grammer says Fox took some convincing—but think about it: that dichotomy, Dr. Crane vs. Mr.

Hyde, is exactly what the part needs. "When there's an actor who plays an iconic character on TV, it's hard to break that mold," says director Brett Ratner. "I think ultimately people will identify Kelsey as Beast instead of Frasier." (Before they filmed the climactic battle scene, Ratner had Grammer deliver the "band of brothers" speech from *Henry V* in full Beast regalia. Of such stuff are killer DVD extras made.)

Now, offscreen, the actor is plain old Mr. Grammer. He's clean and sober, and he has been married to the same woman, Camille Grammer (the Playboy bunny), since 1997. And he's rich. "I'm in semiretirement," he says. "I've got a new life,

I've got a 2-year-old and a 5-year-old. I've got obligations at home. Family is now certainly more imperative than the career."

But you can't imagine him ever quite letting go of show business. "It's fun to be an actor," he says. "It saved my life. It gave me something to do with whatever mad brain I got." And show business isn't ready to let go of him. He'll never not be Frasier. Twice while we're talking, fans come over for autographs, which Grammer signs with superhuman graciousness. Being a celebrity is a lot like being a mutant. It comes with great powers, but, like Beast, you'll never pass for a human being again. ■



WHO'S THAT GUY BETWEEN WOLVERINE AND STORM? The former Frasier Crane as Beast in *X-Men: The Last Stand*

for 20 straight years—nine seasons on *Cheers*, then 11 on *Frasier*. Frasier was Grammer's lottery ticket, a guest spot that miraculously turned into a high-paying regular gig. But over 20 seasons, any part, no matter how charming, becomes an actor's tomb. "The problem with playing a guy for as long as I did is that it's hard to keep surprises," he says. "You know, you spend 20 years in front of the camera..." Pause for effect. "Lesser actors might be played out." He has a good long laugh at his own expense.

But seriously, how does an actor escape being buried alive? Grammer's non-Frasier forays to date have ranged from the un-

tabloid decathlon. To summarize: three wives (including a stripper and a Playboy bunny), three children (not all by people he was married to), plus trouble with alcohol (DUI) and cocaine (possession, rehab). "The beauty of playing Frasier and being Kelsey at the same time was that they did not relate," Grammer says. "I was scandal fodder throughout all those years because I played such a contrary role—upright, intellectual, inhibited Frasier vs. indulgent,

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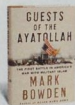
APR 2005



The First Strike

How the 1979 takeover of the U.S. embassy in Tehran prefigured Sept. 11

By RICHARD LACAYO



THE 1979 student takeover of the U.S. embassy in Tehran was Sept. 11 in slow motion. Over 15 end-

less months, 52 American hostages were imprisoned, interrogated and humiliated by the radical Islamic students who seized the embassy compound. Back home, night after night, a lugubrious Walter Cronkite played the role of national town crier, counting off the days of captivity. Is it any surprise that all these years later the hostage taking is an episode that refuses to subside into mere history? The mullahs who exploited it to consolidate their power still rule. The hatreds it set loose still poison relations between the U.S. and Iran. Some events won't lie down and play dead.

So when Mark Bowden calls the embassy drama "the first battle in America's war against militant Islam," that sounds about right. *Guests of the Ayatollah* (Atlantic Monthly Press; 680 pages) is his detailed and bleakly compelling account of what the hostages endured during the siege and of the anguish it pro-

duced in the U.S. The author of *Black Hawk Down*, about the 1993 U.S. military mission in Mogadishu that went lethally wrong, Bowden knows something about American misadventures in the wider world. He may not be a policy analyst, but he writes about events in a way that gives a clear picture of both high-level decision making and the price paid by people on the ground. Maybe that's something more policy analysts should try.

The embassy takeover was not just a symbolic blow against the U.S. but also a power play in the struggle between radical Islamists and more moderate elements within the Iranian revolution, who were already reaching out to the U.S. To the Islamic students, any rapprochement with Washington was supping with the devil. What the embassy takeover promised them was a chance to rekindle the revolution, goad the Great Satan into waving his pitchfork at Iran and force the moderates to renounce the U.S. and all its wicked devices.

The original plan had been to seize the embassy for just a few days and use it as a platform to broadcast Iranian grievances against the U.S. Those mostly stemmed from Washington's

BLINDSIDED *Militants parade a hostage before the cameras*

longtime support of the Shah, who had been placed on the Peacock Throne in 1953, after a CIA-instigated coup deposed Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh, who wanted to nationalize Iran's oil industry. As Bowden points out, by the time of the Iranian revolution, most Americans had forgotten all about the coup. Most Iranians had not. When the White House allowed the exiled Shah to enter the U.S. to seek treatment for liver cancer, the stage was set for a new outbreak of fury that the religious radicals could manage to their advantage.

Bowden tells us that before deciding to admit the Shah, Jimmy Carter polled his top advisers. Most recommended that he do it. But when he also asked what they would do if the Iranians seized the embassy in retaliation, none answered. And when the thing actually happened, no one on any side was sure of exactly what to do. The triumphant but clueless students would hang on to the 52 frightened, angry Americans for 444 days, all the while making hapless attempts to prove that the embassy had been a cockpit of intrigue and espionage. Although for the most part the hostages were not subjected to torture, their detention and humiliation were in themselves an outrage and came complete with occasional beatings and sham executions. Spectacularly uncooperative types like Michael Metrinko, a political officer who could insult his guards (and their mothers) in fluent Farsi, were routinely roughed up and thrown into solitary. That may have been preferable to being subjected to political

harangues by true believers like Massoumeh (Screaming Mary) Ebtekar, then a volcano of fundamentalist cant, later the first female Vice President of Iran.

Despite the students' conspiracy theories, Bowden says, the embassy actually housed just a few CIA officers, most of them new to the country and struggling to contact Iranians who could help them comprehend the shape-shifting revolution. Since none of them spoke Farsi, the American spies couldn't even read the Tehran newspapers.

As the siege wore on, a desperate Carter reached for an improbable armed mission. The plan called for slipping members of the U.S.'s still untested new Delta Force, an elite Army rescue unit, through Iranian airspace to a makeshift desert landing strip in Iran. Then they would be trucked into Tehran, where they would somehow fight their way into the embassy compound and out of it again with the hostages in tow. Instead, a Delta Force chopper collided on the runway with a C-130 transport plane that had 44 Delta troops inside, and eight soldiers died in the fireball. When word of the failed mission reached the White House, notes Bowden, Hamilton Jordan, Carter's chief of staff, "ducked into the president's bathroom and vomited."

It would take nine more long months and Carter's loss of the White House to Ronald Reagan before the no less exhausted Iranians would conclude the negotiations that sent the hostages home. And 26 years after that, the passions of the moment still reverberate. In Bowden's book, you can feel them on every page. ■

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FROM OUR CONTRIBUTORS



In his memoir *Song for My Fathers*, former TIME Paris bureau chief Tom Sancton recaptures the jazz-filled spirit of New Orleans in the 1950s and '60s, recounting his experiences and fellowship with "the mens," the black musicians of Preservation Hall. A white clarinetist caught between his father's belief in racial equality and the prejudices of his peers, Sancton finds a second

family in these aging jazzmen and the world they created—a world, he writes, that "had mostly faded into history long before Katrina struck."

The Da Vinci Coma

The movie of the best-selling book is fine, unless you're a Christian or like your movies to be exciting

EVERYBODY BUT DAN BROWN KNOWS that *The Da Vinci Code* is not a great book; at best it's a great read. But for all the novel's thriller tropes, its chases among chalices and cilies, the publishing phenomenon of the decade is a very bookish book. The games Brown plays are essentially literary: anagrams and hexagrams, fun with the Fibonacci Sequence. Those riddles are best savored by readers with a long night or a long flight ahead of them.

They are not, however, intrinsically visual or dramatic. To make a real movie out of *The Da Vinci Code*, rather than an audio CD or a "special illustrated edition" (which have been done), requires a rethinking of the book. Or at least a thinking. Instead, director Ron Howard and screenwriter Akiva Goldsman pounded out a faithful synopsis and filmed it. The result is a work that is politically brave, for a



LOUVRE STORY:
Tautou and
Hanks in peril

mainstream movie, and artistically stodgy.

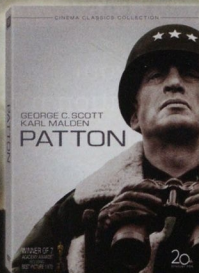
The plot—about the pursuit of a Harvard professor (Tom Hanks) and a French policewoman (Audrey Tautou) by a devout, albino hit man (Paul Bettany) and rival

gangs of learned loonies, all in search of Christ's Holy Grail—has some superficial bustle, but essentially it's a course in speculative religious and art history. Somebody talks, the others listen. Those lectures give most of the actors little to do. Ian McKellen, as a crotchety charmer, fares best, because he does most of the talking. Bettany, finding poignancy in murder and masochism, comes in second.

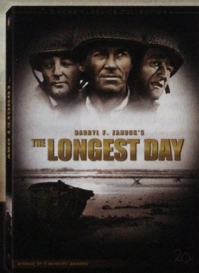
The bravery? Filming and financing what, if the story is taken seriously, is a corrosive challenge to Christianity. But having made the bold decision to film the novel, Howard hasn't the energy to slap the thing to life. He's like a guide on one of the countless *Da Vinci Code* tours of Paris or London, doing it by rote, letting the film hobble to its climax with still more exposition. Good movies are show-and-tell; this one is all-tell, no-show. —By Richard Corliss

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MY LIFE IN FRANCE
JULIA CHILD

SHE LOVED France. She loved French. She even loved

the French. But what Julia Child, all 6 ft. 2 in. of her, loved most was the oddly captivating things the French ate, things that nobody ate where she was from, provincial Pasadena, Calif. When her husband Paul moved them both to Paris after World War II, she learned to cook snails and everything else expertly. Later, in books and on television, she fed those things to Americans, and we duly loved her for it. But this posthumous memoir, written with her grandnephew Alex Prud'homme, is about her years abroad, when she attended cooking school in Paris and co-wrote her classic *Mastering the Art of French Cooking*. It's—what else?—delicious.



▼ LET ME FINISH
ROGER ANGELL

ANGELL WAS born in 1920, and in what has to be one of the most entertaining and gracious prose styles of his gracious generation, he initiates us into the long-lost delights of being a moviegoer in the 1930s (“We were the lucky



ROMAN A. CHEF: Child cooks with a Cordon Bleu instructor

5 MEMOIRS THAT ARE WORTH YOUR TIME

Extraordinary authors write the stories of their extraordinary lives

ones, we first citizens of film”), a baseball fan in the age of Ruth and DiMaggio, a motorist when cars had wooden-spoked wheels, a drinker during the ascendancy of the martini and a *New Yorker* editor of sufficiently long standing to have worked with William Shawn, James Thurber, Ogden Nash and Donald Barthelme. He was born lucky and he knows it, but he also knows that luck is never quite enough. “Life is tough and brimming with loss,” Angell writes, “and the most we can do about it is to glimpse ourselves clear now and then.”



MY LIVES
EDMUND WHITE

HIS MOTHER WAS a psychologist. “I must have been eight,” White tells us,

“when [she] gave me my first Rorschach.” He survived her many attempts to analyze him, well enough to become a lyrical novelist (*A Boy's Own Story*) and a shrewd biographer of the French convict-litterateur Jean Genet. Life takes White through New York and Paris as well as through lovers, hustlers and the shopworn theatrics of S&M. The chapters that detail his forays into sexual abjection don't always work, but in the end, his book bears out the line he quotes from the sly French writer Madame de Staël: “Whoever can still take an interest in himself is not unhappy.” You won't be either.



THE ONE THAT GOT AWAY
HOWELL RAINES

“THERE IS,” Raines tells us, “nothing as gone, as utterly lost to

us, nothing as definitely absent and irretrievable as a lost fish.” This from a man who lost one of the biggest fish in media, executive editorship of the *New York Times*, after the infamous Jayson Blair scandal. In this easy chair of a book, Raines, frank, engaging and not entirely without rancor, hops nimbly from the newsroom to such remote waters as the Kola Peninsula in Russia and the seas around tiny Christmas Island. “Howell eats gunpowder for breakfast,” one *Times* reporter says of him. At least he can have fresh trout for dinner.



ALISON BECHDEL

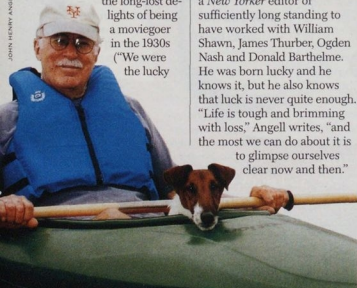


▲ FUN HOME
ALISON BECHDEL

AS A LITTLE GIRL, Bechdel knew that her father, an English teacher in small-town

Pennsylvania, was odd. He was withdrawn, he decorated their house too much, he moonlighted as an undertaker. But she didn't realize he was gay and seducing his young students, and she certainly didn't expect him to kill himself at 44 years old. In this brilliant, bleakly hilarious memoir in comic-book form, Bechdel combines stories from her emotionally barren but weirdly fascinating childhood with elegant allusions to Proust and Joyce to make a gripping story of filial sleuthery and, in the end, hard-earned acceptance of how much of her father she finds in herself. —By Lev Grossman and Richard Lacayo

JOHN HENRY ANGELL





American
Heart
Association

Fat Free and 100% Lower Milk
and American Heart Association
not criteria for selection of
and cholesterol for
healthy people over age 2

got milk?

Hot mama.
Even in my role as mom, I want to look great. So I drink milk. Studies suggest that people who drink milk regularly tend to weigh less and have less body fat than those who don't. So raise a glass and let milk play its part.

24/24 milk your diet. Lose weight!™

2424milk.com

DANGER IN THE WINDOW SEAT



PAGING
DR. GUPTA

I TRAVEL A LOT—MORE THAN 20 countries last year alone—and that means a lot of time on airplanes. I always worry, because there's a good chance that when I land I'll have the sniffles or something worse. When I started looking into the health risks of air travel, I discovered that a lot of people—as many as 70% of travelers—are just like me. They disembark complaining of everything from earaches and motion sickness to viral infections and dehydration made more severe by the dry air that circulates in airplane cabins.

But the most serious risk to air travel is a condition known as DVT, or deep-vein thrombosis. DVT is caused by blood clots that form in the legs, pelvis or arms. The clots usually aren't dangerous, but if they break off and lodge in the tiny vessels that feed the lungs or heart, they can be fatal.

Because DVT is associated with cramped airline seats, it came to be known as economy-class syndrome. (Former Vice President Al Gore, however, developed DVT in aircraft with plenty of leg room while he was campaigning for the presidency.) Many doctors suspected that the clots might be caused by low air pressure or

Sanjay Gupta is a neurosurgeon and CNN medical correspondent

changes in oxygen concentration during flight, in part because mountain climbers are known to develop DVT at high altitudes. But no one knew for sure.

That's why a DVT study published last week in the *Journal of the American Medical*

Stretching, hydrating and not imbibing can help ward off airborne blood clots

Association caused such a stir. Scientists in Scotland asked 73 healthy volunteers to spend eight hours in a hypobaric chamber in conditions that simulated a plane flying at nearly 8,000 ft. Blood drawn after the test showed no evidence



JOHN WILKINSON/ONYX

that air-pressure or oxygen levels had activated the clotting mechanism.

Instead, the biggest risk factor for DVT seems to be how much time you spend in an airplane seat. An earlier study of more than 135 million passengers found that those who traveled more than 3,100 miles in one trip were 150 times as likely to develop clots. That can happen on the ground too. David Bloom, an NBC war correspondent, died in 2003 after developing DVT while reporting in Iraq. It was believed to have been caused by dehydration (which thickens the

blood) and the cramped condition of the armored vehicle he traveled in.

Research indicates that the vast majority of people who develop DVT, on or off a plane, have at least one other risk factor, such as cancer, circulation problems, a family history of thrombosis or a bad knee or hip. Pregnant women or women on birth control pills are also at higher risk.

It's a lot to think about while you're waiting at the boarding gate. But there are ways to lower your risk: stay hydrated (by drinking plenty of water and laying off alcohol and caffeine),

1 in
2,000

Travelers who will eventually develop a case of economy-class syndrome

move around as much as possible, avoid sleeping pills that knock you out, consider wearing support hose to improve circulation, and ask your doctor about taking aspirin to thin your blood.

You'll still be at risk for getting the sniffles, but I'll tackle that in another column.

PASSENGER-CABIN COMPLAINTS

The 10 largest U.S. airlines filled 78.2% of their seats through April this year, resulting in the fewest empty seats since 9/11.

In 2004, Americans flew more than 550 trillion miles within the U.S. (By comparison, they drove nearly 2.7 quadrillion miles that year)

On-time domestic arrivals reached a record low in 2005; 77.4% of flights landed on schedule, down from 78.1% in 2004

NEW "IT" BAG LOCKS AND ROLLS

By KATE BETTS

FORGET ABOUT HANDBAGS FOR A MOMENT AND LOOK around. Globe-trotting professionals with heavy laptops in tow are turning to upright rollers to transport their gear. The increasing popularity of those mobile offices has brought high fashion to what used to be a purely functional accessory. Suddenly every brand from Prada to Valentino is rolling luggage down the runway.

"There's been a huge surge in the business for roller luggage in the last two years," says Peter Cobb, a vice president and co-founder of eBags.com, an online luggage purveyor that averages 170,000 hits a day. "They used to be only for business trips, but now people are using them as briefcases every day, and they're buying them like fashion items, every six months."

Luggage companies such as Tumi and Samsonite are responding to the new demand with flair. They're using innovation and color to turn formerly utilitarian pieces into style statements. Tumi's new Ducati line features eight different travel bags with racy black-and-red styling. Samsonite Black Label hired trendy industrial designer Marc Newson to create a lightweight, colorful line of luggage called Scope. He used EVA foam—once found only in sneakers—to create one of the lightest uprights on the market.

"These carry-on pieces are being treated

Prada's luggage look for spring travels the runway, right. Below, from left: Tumi's racy red-and-black **Ducati Collection** upright; Valextra's **Avietta** leather carry-on with hidden wheels; Samsonite Black Label's **Scope** upright case, designed by Marc Newson and available in bright colors



Your Initials, Please

The easiest way to identify luggage on the claim carousel is still old-fashioned initials. The idea of customizing travel gear started in France in 1854, when Louis Vuitton, a purveyor of steamer trunks, began hand-painting initials on its goods. Gaston-Louis, a grandson of Vuitton's founder, was obsessed with the trend of

customization, particularly the use of stickers as a way of identifying a trunk's journey around the world. Today Louis Vuitton still offers personalization services—including hand-painting initials, stripes and crests in a choice of 15 colors.



more like an accessory," says Lynne Berard, vice president of marketing at Samsonite. "People don't want just your basic black anymore. They want color. They want to make a statement." So Samsonite is selling its Newson line in luxury boutiques like Conran's and at W Hotels, as opposed to typical luggage specialty stores.

Some companies are trying to hide the functionality of luggage altogether. Valextra, the Italian high-end leather-goods brand, recently came out with the Avietta, a sleek leather briefcase sporting a hidden handle and silent synthetic wheels that took three years to develop. "I wanted to give the businessman something that could jump from the airplane right into a board meeting," says Massimo Suppanica, CEO of Valextra.

Perhaps the most innovative new idea in luggage is one that addresses the weight issue. Last month Ricardo Beverly Hills introduced an upright roller with a built-in scale. "Anyone who's been through that embarrassing moment at the check-in counter when you're over the weight limit and you have to unpack in front of everyone will appreciate this product," says Cobb. Just lift the model off the floor, and a small screen under the handle will tell you whether you have overpacked.

If you have COPD associated with chronic bronchitis,
ADVAIR® helps you breathe easier*



MORE GAMES BY GRANDMA

MORE AIR* BY



ADVAIR 250/50 is clinically proven to help your lungs work better.

It is the only COPD medication with an anti-inflammatory and a bronchodilator working together in one convenient device. The way anti-inflammatories work in the treatment of COPD is not well defined. ADVAIR is used more than any other maintenance medication by patients with COPD, including those with associated chronic bronchitis. So ask your doctor about ADVAIR today, and feel the joy of knowing that you may breathe easier.

*Measured by a breathing test in people taking ADVAIR 250/50, compared with people taking either fluticasone propionate 250 mcg or salmeterol 50 mcg. Your results may vary.

For a free trial offer,[†] go to advaircopd.com or call 1-800-987-4900.

Important information about ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50: ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50 is approved for the treatment of airflow obstruction in patients with COPD associated with chronic bronchitis. You should only take 1 inhalation of ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50 twice a day. The benefit of using ADVAIR DISKUS for longer than 6 months has not been evaluated. Taking higher doses will not provide additional benefits but may increase your chance of certain side effects. Patients at risk for developing bone loss (osteoporosis) and some eye problems (cataracts or glaucoma) should be aware that use of inhaled corticosteroids, including ADVAIR DISKUS, may increase your risk. ADVAIR DISKUS does not replace fast-acting inhalers for acute symptoms.



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ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50
(fluticasone propionate 250 mcg and salmeterol 50 mcg inhalation powder)

If you smoke and want to quit, you can learn more at way2quit.com.

Offer limited to patients receiving their first prescription for ADVAIR. See advaircopd.com for eligibility rules.
Please see accompanying important information about ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50.

ADVAIR DISKUS 100/50, 250/50, 500/50

(fluticasone propionate 100, 250, 500 mcg and salmeterol 50 mcg inhalation powder)

What is the most important information I should know about ADVAIR DISKUS?

In patients with asthma, long-acting beta₂-agonist medications such as salmeterol (one of the medications in ADVAIR) may increase the chance of death from asthma problems. In a large asthma study, more patients who used salmeterol died from asthma problems compared with patients who did not use salmeterol. So ADVAIR is not for patients whose asthma is well controlled on another asthma controller medicine such as low- to medium-dose inhaled corticosteroids or only need a fast-acting inhaler once in a while. Talk with your doctor about this risk and the benefits of treating your asthma with ADVAIR.

ADVAIR should not be used to treat a severe attack of asthma or chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD) requiring emergency medical treatment.

ADVAIR should not be used to relieve sudden symptoms or sudden breathing problems. Always have a fast-acting inhaler with you to treat sudden breathing difficulty. If you do not have a fast-acting inhaler, contact your doctor to have one prescribed for you.

What is ADVAIR DISKUS?

There are two medicines in ADVAIR: fluticasone propionate, an inhaled anti-inflammatory belonging to a group of medicines commonly referred to as corticosteroids; and salmeterol, a long-acting, inhaled bronchodilator belonging to a group of medicines commonly referred to as beta₂-agonists. There are 3 strengths of ADVAIR: 100/50, 250/50, 500/50.

For Asthma

- ADVAIR is approved for the maintenance treatment of asthma in patients 4 years of age and older. ADVAIR should only be used if your doctor decides that another asthma controller medicine alone does not control your asthma or that you need 2 asthma controller medications.
- The strength of ADVAIR approved for patients ages 4 to 11 years who experience symptoms on an inhaled corticosteroid is ADVAIR DISKUS 100/50. All 3 strengths are approved for patients with asthma ages 12 years and older.

For COPD associated with chronic bronchitis

ADVAIR 250/50 is the only approved dose for the maintenance treatment of airflow obstruction in patients with COPD associated with chronic bronchitis. The benefit of using ADVAIR for longer than 6 months has not been evaluated. The use anti-inflammatory work in the treatment of COPD is not well defined.

Who should not take ADVAIR DISKUS?

You should not start ADVAIR if your asthma is becoming significantly or rapidly worse, which can be life threatening. Serious respiratory events, including death, have been reported in patients who started taking salmeterol in this situation, although it is not possible to tell whether salmeterol contributed to these events. This may also occur in patients with less severe asthma.

You should not take ADVAIR if you have had an allergic reaction to it or any of its components (salmeterol, fluticasone propionate, or lactose). Tell your doctor if you are allergic to ADVAIR, any other medications, or food products. If you experience an allergic reaction after taking ADVAIR, stop using ADVAIR immediately and contact your doctor. Allergic reactions are when you experience one or more of the following: choking; breathing problems; swelling of the face, mouth and/or tongue; rash; hives; itching; or welts on the skin.

Tell your doctor about the following:

- If you are using your fast-acting inhaler more often or using more doses than you normally do (e.g., 4 or more inhalations of your fast-acting inhaler for 2 or more days in a row or a whole canister of your fast-acting inhaler in 3 weeks) time, it could be a sign that your asthma is getting worse. If this occurs, tell your doctor immediately.
- If you have been using your fast-acting inhaler regularly (e.g., four times a day). Your doctor may tell you to stop the regular use of these medications.
- If your peak flow meter results decrease. Your doctor will tell you the numbers that are right for you.
- If you have asthma and your symptoms do not improve after using ADVAIR regularly for 1 week.
- If you have been on an oral steroid, like prednisone, and are now using ADVAIR. You should be very careful as you may be less able to heal after surgery, infection, or serious injury. It takes a number of months for the body to recover its ability to make its own steroid hormones after use of oral steroids. Switching from an oral steroid may also mask a condition previously suppressed by the oral steroid such as allergies, conjunctivitis, eczema, arthritis, and eosinophilic conditions. Symptoms of an eosinophilic condition can include rash, worsening breathing problems, heart complications, and/or feeling of "pins and needles" or numbness in the arms and legs. Talk to your doctor immediately if you experience any of these symptoms.
- Some patients experience unexpected bronchospasm right after taking ADVAIR. This condition can be life threatening and if it occurs, you should immediately stop using ADVAIR and seek immediate medical attention.
- If you have any type of heart disease such as coronary artery disease, irregular heart beat or high blood pressure, ADVAIR should be used with caution. Be sure to talk with your doctor about this condition because salmeterol, one of the components of ADVAIR, may affect the heart by increasing heart rate and blood pressure. It may cause symptoms such as heart fluttering, chest pain, rapid heart rate, tremor, or nervousness.
- If you have severe, unexpected bronchospasm right after taking ADVAIR. This condition can be life threatening and if it occurs, you should immediately stop using ADVAIR and seek immediate medical attention.
- If your breathing problems get worse over time or if your fast-acting inhaler does not work as well for you while using ADVAIR. If your breathing problems worsen quickly, get emergency medical care.
- If you have been exposed to or currently have chickenpox or measles or if you have an immune system problem. Patients using medications that weaken the immune system are more likely to get infections than healthy individuals. ADVAIR contains a corticosteroid (fluticasone propionate) which may weaken the immune system. Infections like chickenpox and measles, for example, can be very serious or even fatal in susceptible patients using corticosteroids.

How should I take ADVAIR DISKUS?

ADVAIR should be used 1 inhalation, twice a day (morning and evening). ADVAIR should never be taken more than 1 inhalation twice a day. The full benefit of taking ADVAIR may take 1 week or longer.

If you miss a dose of ADVAIR, just skip that dose. Take your next dose at your usual time. Do not take two doses at one time.

Do not stop using ADVAIR unless told to do so by your doctor because your symptoms might get worse.

Do not change or stop any of your medicines used to control or treat your breathing problems. Your doctor will adjust your medicines as needed.

When using ADVAIR, remember:

- Never breathe into or take the DISKUS[®] apart.
- Always use the DISKUS in a level position.
- After each inhalation, rinse your mouth with water without swallowing.
- Never wash any part of the DISKUS. Always keep it in a dry place.
- Never take an extra dose, even if you feel you did not receive a dose.
- Discard 1 month after removal from the foil wrap.
- Do not use ADVAIR with a spacer device.

Children should use ADVAIR with an adult's help as instructed by the child's doctor.

Can I take ADVAIR DISKUS with other medications?

Tell your doctor about all the medications you take, including prescription and nonprescription medications, vitamins, and herbal supplements.

If you are taking ADVAIR, you should not take SEREVENT[®] DISKUS or Foradil[®] Aerolizer[®] for any reason.

If you take ritonavir (an HIV medication), tell your doctor. Ritonavir may interact with ADVAIR and could cause serious side effects. The anti-HIV medicines Norvir[®] Soft Gelatin Capsules, Norvir Oral Solution, and Kaletra[®] contain ritonavir.

No formal drug interaction studies have been performed with ADVAIR.

In clinical studies, there were no differences in effects on the heart when ADVAIR was taken with varying amounts of albuterol. The effect of using ADVAIR in patients with asthma while taking more than 9 puffs a day of albuterol has not been studied.

ADVAIR should be used with extreme caution during and up to 2 weeks after treatment with monoamine oxidase (MAO) inhibitors or tricyclic antidepressants since these medications can cause ADVAIR to have an even greater effect on the circulatory system.

ADVAIR should be used with caution in people who are taking ketconazole (an antifungal medication) or other drugs broken down by the body in a similar way. These medications can cause ADVAIR to have greater steroid side effects.

Generally, people with asthma should not take beta-blockers because they counteract the effects of beta₂-agonists and may also cause severe bronchospasm. However, in some cases, for instance, following a heart attack, selective beta-blockers may still be used if there is no acceptable alternative.

The ECG changes and/or low blood potassium that may occur with some diuretics may be made worse by ADVAIR, especially at higher-than-recommended doses. Caution should be used when these drugs are used together.

In clinical studies, there was no difference in side effects when ADVAIR was taken with methylxanthines (e.g., theophylline) or with FLONASE[®].

What are other important safety considerations with ADVAIR DISKUS?

Osteoporosis: Long-term use of inhaled corticosteroids may result in bone loss (osteoporosis). Patients who are at risk for increased bone loss (tobacco use, advanced age, inactive lifestyle, poor nutrition, family history of osteoporosis, or long-term use of drugs such as corticosteroids) may have a greater risk with ADVAIR. If you have risk factors for bone loss, you should talk to your doctor about ways to reduce your risk and whether you should have your bone density evaluated.

Glaucoma and cataracts: Glaucoma, increased pressure in the eyes, and cataracts have been reported with the use of inhaled steroids including fluticasone propionate, a medicine contained in ADVAIR. Regular eye examinations should be considered if you are taking ADVAIR.

Lower respiratory tract infection: Lower respiratory tract infections, including pneumonia, have been reported with the use of inhaled corticosteroids, including ADVAIR.

Blood sugar: Salmeterol may affect blood sugar and/or cause low blood potassium in some patients, which could lead to a side effect like an irregular heart rate. Significant changes in blood sugar and blood potassium were seen infrequently in clinical studies with ADVAIR.

Growth: Inhaled steroids may cause a reduction in growth velocity in children and adolescents.

Steroids: Taking steroids can affect your body's ability to make its own steroid hormones, which are needed during infections and times of severe stress to your body, such as an operation. These effects can sometimes be seen with inhaled steroids but it is more common with oral steroids, especially when taken at higher-than-recommended doses over a long period of time. In some cases, these effects may be severe. Inhaled steroids often help control symptoms with less side effects than oral steroids.

Yeast infections: Patients taking ADVAIR may develop yeast infections of the mouth and/or throat ("thrush") that should be treated by their doctor.

Tuberculosis or other untreated infections: ADVAIR should be used with caution, if at all, in patients with tuberculosis, herpes infections of the eye, or other untreated infections.

What are the other possible side effects of ADVAIR DISKUS?

ADVAIR may produce side effects in some patients. In clinical studies, the most common side effects with ADVAIR included:

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| • Respiratory infections | • Bronchitis | • Musculoskeletal pain |
| • Throat irritation | • Cough | • Dizziness |
| • Hoarseness | • Headaches | • Fever |
| • Sinus infection | • Nausea and vomiting | • Ear, nose, and throat infections |
| • Yeast infection of the mouth | • Diarrhea | • Nosebleed |

Tell your doctor about any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away. These are not all the side effects with ADVAIR. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for more information.

What if I am pregnant, planning to become pregnant, or nursing?

Talk to your doctor about the benefits and risks of using ADVAIR during pregnancy, labor, or if you are nursing. There have been no studies of ADVAIR used during pregnancy, labor, or in nursing women. Salmeterol is known to interfere with labor contractions. It is not known whether ADVAIR is excreted in breast milk, but other corticosteroids have been found in human breast milk. Fluticasone propionate, like other corticosteroids, has been associated with birth defects in animals (e.g., cleft palate and fetal death). Salmeterol showed no effect on fertility in rats at 180 times the maximum recommended daily dose.

What other important tests were conducted with ADVAIR?

There is no evidence of enhanced toxicity with ADVAIR compared with the components administered separately. In animal studies with doses much higher than those used in humans, salmeterol was associated with uterine tumors. Your healthcare professional can tell you more about how drugs are tested on animals and what the results of these tests may mean to your safety.

For more information on ADVAIR DISKUS

This page is only a brief summary of important information about ADVAIR DISKUS. For more information, talk to your doctor. You can also visit www.ADVAIR.com or call 1-888-825-5249. Patients receiving ADVAIR DISKUS should read the medication guide provided by the pharmacist with the prescription.

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IMMUNITY IDOLS EXPIRE

Inconceivably, *Survivor*'s first champion, **RICHARD HATCH**, 45, won \$1 million on prime-time TV and failed to declare it on his tax return. In fact, Hatch reported a negative income for the year and filed for \$4,483 in refunds. A jury convicted him of tax evasion, and last Tuesday a Rhode Island judge sentenced him to 51 months in prison. "It seems unfortunately very clear to me that Mr. Hatch lied," said the judge, adding that Hatch also tried to "manipulate other people." In Hatch's defense, that was once a winning strategy.

PHOTOGRAPH BY JONAS NIELSEN

DEFENDING FREEDOM ONE CLICK AT A TIME

Bono has Africa. Coldplay has global poverty. **MOBY** is fighting for your right to... surf the Web. Along with like-minded artists such as R.E.M. and some improbable partners like the Gun Owners of America, the techno-musician has joined the SavetheInternet.com Coalition, whose object is to preserve so-called Net neutrality. That would keep broadband providers from charging premiums to content providers (like Google or MySpace) for faster connections, which could limit consumer access to some sites. "If Congress guts Net neutrality," says Moby, "independent sites would be choked off, and the Internet will become a private toll road." And that's a whale of an issue.



PHOTOGRAPH BY JONAS NIELSEN



COMING OUT FROM DOWN UNDER

While discussing the work done by UNIFEM, a human-rights organization, **NICOLE KIDMAN** let slip to *PEOPLE* magazine that country singer **KEITH URBAN**, her boyfriend and date for the charity's 30th-anniversary gala, was "actually my fiancé." She said, "I wouldn't be bringing my boyfriend." ("Cause that would be tacky." Urban's publicist later confirmed the betrothal. The affianced, both Aussies and both 38, met in January 2005 at a dinner given by the Australian government but weren't spotted together in public until July. Since then, they've been strolling quietly hand in hand in the Hamptons, lunching serenely in Nashville and keeping things low key. That will never do. Can't we at least get one good fist pump?

BABY YOU'RE A RICH MAN. AND NOW I'M A RICH WOMAN

Move over, Vana, and prepare to make room for two newcomers to the Gajillionaire Ex-Wives' Club. Onetime model and antifur activist **HEATHER MILLS**, 38, and her Beatle husband of four years,

SIR PAUL MCCARTNEY, 63, left, have officially announced their separation. And across the globe, former No. 1 golfer **GREG NORMAN**, 51, told an Australian newspaper that he is splitting with **LAURA**, his wife of 25 years. The question on most people's minds is not "Why?" but "How much?" McCartney's personal fortune, which includes part ownership of the Beatles brand, is estimated at more than \$1.5 billion, and legal analysts surmise that if the couple, who have a 2-year-old daughter, end up in divorce, Mills could walk away with more than \$350 million. (Mills offered to sign a prenuptial agreement before the wedding in 2002, but McCartney famously dismissed the notion, calling it unromantic.) As for the future ex-Mrs. Norman, with whom the golfer has two grown children, her windfall could add up to a hefty \$150 million. Her husband's holdings include a winery, a sportswear line, a golf-course-design firm and a really big boat. Cue the theme music, please: Can't buy me love, love...



RALPH GRIFFITH—GETTY

ALLIED—JALMORNETS/VS

Bruce Handy/Glynis Sweeny

The American Dream, Supersized

Immigrants often have big ideas about their new life. And often they're right

True story: As part of its social-studies curriculum, my daughter's fourth-grade class was planning a field trip to the Lower East Side in Manhattan to get a sense of what life was like for immigrants in the early 20th century.

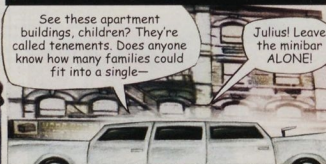


This was particularly meaningful for our family since my wife's grandparents had lived on the Lower East Side. Her father's mother had a compelling story, having come from a small village in Latvia where the family shared a single pair of shoes. In New York City, she sold vegetables from a pushcart and eventually opened a successful dress shop in New Jersey.

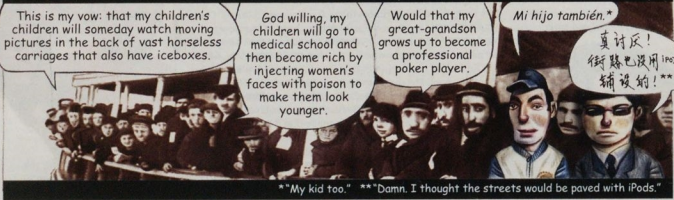


As beneficiaries of all that hope and energy unleashed upon the New World, you certainly feel an obligation to honor it. So, field trip—great idea! But that night we got a surprise...

Huh? It turned out that the school bus had broken down. Happily, the trip was salvaged when a generous and fast-thinking mother called a car service. So, yes: where huddled masses had once arrived in cramped, fetid steamships, my daughter and her classmates were now rolling up in limos with TVs.



There was an obvious disconnect here. But the more I thought about it, the more I wondered: Hadn't most immigrants come to America to make a better life for themselves and their descendants? Who's to say that by *better* they didn't mean ridiculously so? Maybe the American Dream has always been supersized...



This is my vow: that my children's children will someday watch moving pictures in the back of vast horseless carriages that also have iceboxes.

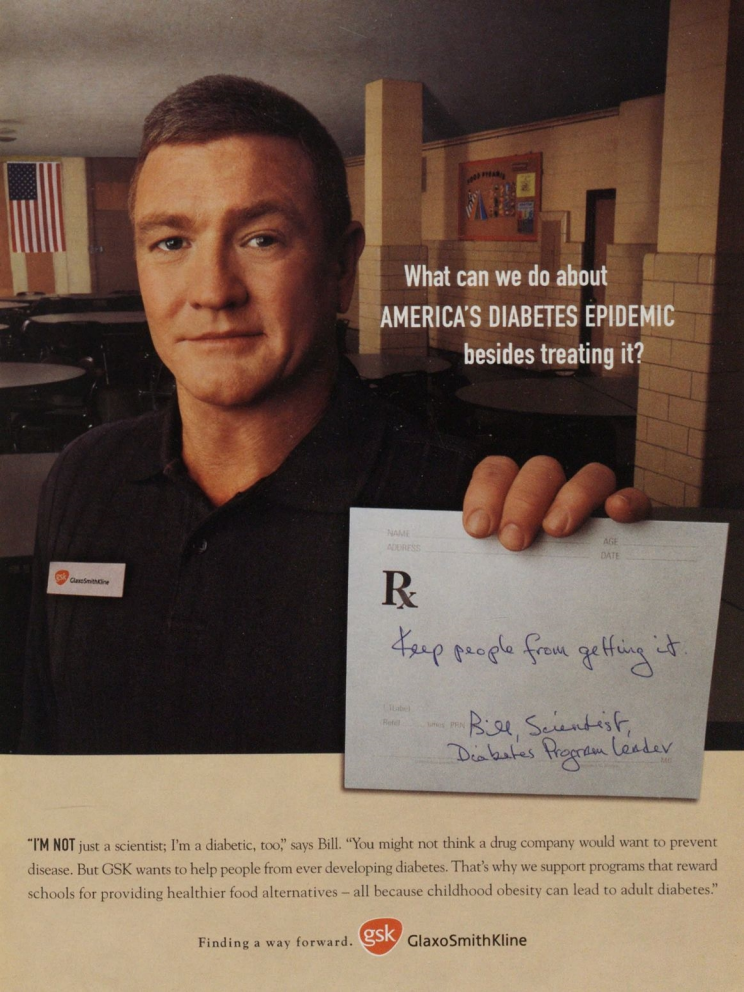
God willing, my children will go to medical school and then become rich by injecting women's faces with poison to make them look younger.

Would that my great-grandson grows up to become a professional poker player.

Mi hijo también.*

真讨厌!
街路也没用 iPod 铺设的! **

*"My kid too." **"Damn. I thought the streets would be paved with iPods."

A man with short brown hair and a slight smile, wearing a dark polo shirt with a GlaxoSmithKline name tag, stands in a school cafeteria. In the background, there are round tables, an American flag, and a "Food Pyramid" poster on the wall.

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AMERICA'S DIABETES EPIDEMIC
besides treating it?

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Rx

Keep people from getting it.

(Title)

(Refill)

(Office)

*Bill, Scientist,
Diabetes Program Leader*

"I'M NOT just a scientist; I'm a diabetic, too," says Bill. "You might not think a drug company would want to prevent disease. But GSK wants to help people from ever developing diabetes. That's why we support programs that reward schools for providing healthier food alternatives – all because childhood obesity can lead to adult diabetes."

Finding a way forward.  GlaxoSmithKline



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